AL FAJR

16 PAGES
IS 30

# JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEK

Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Ma. 02138

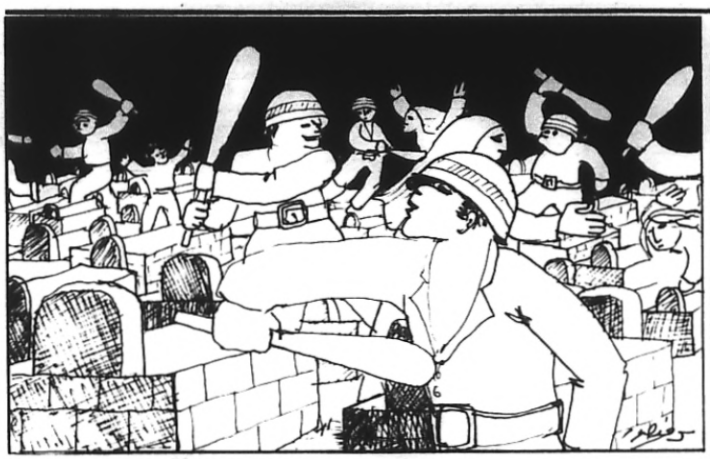
(USPS 686-630

23, 1983
O. 177

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

**TO OUR READERS:**

**In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.**



# 24 held as police smash Massacre memorial

Israeli soldiers arrested 24 protesters, Palestinian, Syrian Druze, Israeli and European after breaking up a ceremony to commemorate the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres just outside the Old City of Jerusalem, September 18. The detainees were released on the same day, on IS5000 personal bail.

Less than one minute later, more than 30 helmeted border guards and policemen equipped with truncheons rushed up the stairs towards the crowd. Meanwhile, other policemen blocked off the entrance in order to

*continued on page 3*

12,000 ATTEND FUNERAL

# SHEIKH KAMAL KANJ ABU SALEH

More than 12,000 Syrian and Palestinian residents took part in the funeral, September 16, of Druze Sheikh Kamal Kanj Abu Saleh, who was one of the most prominent and respected national figures in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights. Sheikh Kanj, a former member of the Syrian parliament and leading figure in the five-month Golan strike against Israeli annexation, died in his home from a heart attack at the age of 63, September 15. Kanj had spent four years in Israeli prisons in the early '70s.

The funeral procession, which started from the local *khilweh* (worship place) in Majdal Shams, turned into a huge demonstration. Those who had accepted Israeli citizenship were prevented from attending.

Following a brief march in the streets of Majdal Shams, the procession moved towards the barbed-wire fence which separates the town from the rest of Syria. An official Syrian government delegation, along with nearly 5000 Syrian residents, waited to pay their last respects to the national leader. Among the leading figures on the other side of the fence was Nur ed-Din Kanj Abu Saleh, the brother of the deceased sheikh, who is a general in the Syrian army. General Kanj read a telegramme, sent by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, in which he saluted Skeikh Kanj as "a national hero, whose memory will live forever."

A member of the Syrian parliament invited Syrians on both sides of the 1967 war fence to attend a memorial on the spot next Friday, September 23. Sheikh Suleiman Ghanem, a Lebanese Druze from the Shouf mountains who happened to be visiting the Galilee, also eulogised Kamal Kanj, whom he compared to the last Lebanese Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt.

The funeral was also attended by a sizeable delegation of Palestinian Muslim and Christian figures from the Galilee, including Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad and Nazareth lawyer Ali Rafe'. A delegation representing the occupied West Bank and Gaza also participated.

Kamal Kanj was the most prominent national figure in the Israeli occupied Golan Heights. He was among 11 Golan nationalists held under administrative detention in 1982 for several months. An Israeli review court later reversed the order and released the men. In early 1970, Kanj was arrested and convicted of relationship with Syrian intelligence. He was sentenced to 30 years. He was released in 1974, in a prisoner exchange agreement with Syria.

A spokesman for the Druze Initiative Committee, which represents progressive Palestinian Druze in the Galilee, described Sheikh Kanj's death as a big loss to Syrians and Arab nationalists everywhere.

# Remembrance and terror Remain in Sabra and Shatila

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

One small piece of black cloth, clandestinely stuck onto a thorny dried-up stem of a plant growing right in the middle of the mass grave in the middle of Shatila camp, signals that these are days of mourning and remembrance. The wreaths and flags have all been removed, and in order to prevent the holding of a commemorative ceremony on the first anniversary of the massacre, a wave of arrests was carried out in past weeks and days in the Palestinian camps.

About a month ago, several women were kidnapped by security agents of the Gemayel regime, and no one has heard of them since. Then, in the days immediately preceding the anniversary, over forty men were taken away. Except for one moment on Saturday morning, when despite the terror campaign about 500 survivors gathered around the mass grave in a spontaneous and heartrending act of helpless rage and endless pain, there was no religious or other ceremony to honour the victims and denounce the assassins and their crimes.

For the rest of these three days of relived horror, one by one, sometimes in twos, the women would pass by the grave, go around it, stop for a moment, stare in silence, and then go away. Weeds have grown wildly over the mounds of sand and garbage scattered on mashed bodies of no one knows how many Palestinians buried in this and in many other mass graves, which were never allowed to be opened: Palestinians whose presence, though lifeless, evidently continues to trouble and disturb the Phalangist powers enough for them to take the most drastic means to prevent any mourning ceremony.

As a year ago, terror reigns supreme in Beirut's Palestinian camps. "Every time we hear an unusual noise, we run and hide immediately," Samar Khalifa, 15, tells one of the rare reporters who, on an Italian multinational forces contingent jeep, succeeded in breaking through the Lebanese army siege around the camps. "They may be coming back."

The old woman grabs the visitor's hand and drags him into her shack to show the photos of twelve members of her family, young and old, assassinated in the massacre: "We are always, always afraid," she says and dries her eyes with an already tear-soaked handkerchief. The fear is hardly mitigated by the presence of the Italian troops who, in these days, intensified vigilance over the camps. Certainly a renewed massacre of those dimensions would be difficult to perpetrate under their eyes. But a mini-massacre has been going on the whole time, because the political agreements on which the "humanitarian" presence of the MNF contingents in Beirut is based do not permit the military to stop the Phalangist powers from penetrating into the camps, from kidnapping and arresting people, and from committing violence on the persons arrested once out of their sight.

Due to this ambiguous mandate, the Italian force too has rendered possible the grabbing and disappearance of many hundreds of Palestinians, men and women, young and old, from the camps throughout the past year, even as it prided itself on and was praised for having prevented an all-out slaughter.

The fear reigning in Sabra and Shatila therefore has nothing imaginary about it. In these days the cannons' roar is constant. There have been many casualties, dead and wounded. But the terrible anxiety generated by the sounds of war around and overhead is due less to the bombings than to the terrorising question fixed in the minds of Sabra and Shatila's survivors: who, in this race against time, will arrive here first — the liberators or the killers? As an old man has put it: "The bombs, that's for *Allah* to decide if I will be hit; but if the *Kataeb* return, there is nothing *Allah* or anyone else can do — they will just massacre us again."

Since the takeover of West Beirut by the Lebanese army three weeks ago, no Palestinian has ventured out of the camps to go to town. For a Palestinian to go by a Lebanese army roadblock would in fact amount to an act of suicide. The people are shut in here, in between the common graves where their families are buried, in their sand-covered, bomb-ruined shacks, surrounded everywhere by garbage which is not being collected and which this summer has caused an unprecedented epidemic of typhoid fever with as many as 30 cases a week, waiting for UNRWA flour rations to bake their meagre bread, with no water in most of the camp areas, with electricity more erratic than in the rest of West Beirut, and feeling, one year later, only more forgotten, more fearful, and more alone.

**IN THIS ISSUE**

Civil war in Lebanon goes on . . . . . p.2
Bomb attack in Hebron market . . . . . p.3
Palestinian Druze in solidarity with their brothers in Lebanon. . . . . p.4
The lost cost of the war . . . . . p.7
Yasir Arafat at UN conference . . . . . pp.8&9
Guns in Hebron. . . . . p.10
Al-Aqsa attackers freed. . . . . p.13
Four hours in Shatila . . . . . p.16

# Six Israeli casualties in South Lebanon

Israeli newspapers reported at least six Israeli soldiers wounded in two military attacks by the Palestinian and Lebanese joint forces against mobile Israeli patrols in South Lebanon, September 19 and 20. They report six guerilla raids in all.

The first and most costly attack occurred Sunday, September 19. Commandos detonated an explosive device planted on a dirt road near Nabatiya by remote control. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, the soldiers were in a civilian car when the attack took place. After the explosives went off, the commandos came out of hiding and fired an RPG at the car.

Israeli troops immediately blocked off the area and began a search for the attackers. No detentions were reported.

Meanwhile, the wounded soldiers were given first aid before being transferred by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam hospital.

On the same day, *Agence France Presse* carried a report based on Lebanese police sources of an attack on an Israeli patrol near al-Qasimiyya river. RPGs and light weapons fire were directed at the troops. Police sources told reporters that they saw a military vehicle on fire and Israeli ambulances rushing to the scene. Some reports suggested that this was the same attack mentioned by the Israeli military spokesman.

*Yediot Aharanot* reported, September 21, that one soldier was wounded when a bomb exploded as an Israeli military convoy passed close to the Khardali Bridge, on the Litani river. The paper claimed that the bomb, detonated by remote control, exploded after the convoy passed and wounded one soldier.

An Israeli military spokesman reported that fire was directed at two military patrols on guard near Tyre in South Lebanon. The first incident involved the use of light arms. The second group was attacked by rockets. The Israeli spokesman claimed that there were no casualties in either attack.

Last week, one Israeli was killed and 10 wounded in attacks in South Lebanon.

DESPITE NATO INTERFERENCE

## Military balance favours Resistance forces

Despite direct US intervention and the enormous Western military force concentrated on the spot, and the gigantic amounts of military material delivered to the Lebanese army, the military balance is favourable to the resistance forces at the moment. These forces now dominate the entire Shouf region, with the exception of the two strategically positioned villages of Borjein and Ain al-Hawr in the southernmost province of Iqlim al-Kharub, which the Israeli army, intervening in the fights, re-occupied and consigned to the Phalangists. The regions occupied by the resistance now form a territorial continuity with Syrian controlled areas in Metn, north and east Beqa'a areas. The Druze and other Lebanese resistance forces are fighting on their land, in their mountains, around their villages, amongst their own people — no small advantage, as the Israelis have discovered through heavy losses in past months.

On the other hand, the Phalangist forces are completely disbanded, while the Lebanese Army has demonstrated a capacity to drag its feet forward only with constant pumping of American support on all levels. It cannot hold the situation even with hundreds of brand new US tanks with "instructions for use" labels still stuck on them, visible at check-points and cross roads every 100 metres in Beirut.

At this point, Washington's intention to cancel the achievements obtained by the resistance on the ground and the political cards acquired with them, will have to be entrusted to a further and more violent and systematic use of US naval and air forces in what would amount to a carpet destruction of Lebanon, Vietnam-style. But this procedure will depend on at least two external factors; the first is the extent to which America's European allies in Lebanon would agree to go along with the Reagan adventure.

At the present moment, the governments of all three former colonial European powers, two of which, ironically, are led by vice presidents of the Socialist International, seem strongly oriented in favour of all out support for the extension of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's commitments. A military projection of the alliance into the Mediterranean area beyond the pact's defined frontiers — an extension of which the involvement in Lebanon constitutes an historical precedent — is now in the cards. Such commitment, significantly, has been sanctioned by NATO's council meeting in Brussels on the very eve of the renewed hostilities in Lebanon, when public opinion was made to believe in an imminent success of the US-piloted negotiations with a document saying: "The four-partite presence in Lebanon . . . is an example of action by members of the alliance to safeguard the common interests by carrying out a strategy of intervention in areas external to those foreseen in the pact."

A second external factor is represented by the question of the extent Israel would escalate its intervention in the Lebanese war. Already it is making daily incursions north of the Awali and flights over Beirut and the mountain areas. Sa'ad Haddad gangs have been unleashed and raids such as the ones reported to have taken place from naval units against Palestinian camps in northern Lebanon last week have been made. Apart from the domestic discussions and problems, Western observers who visited the occupied areas of South Lebanon in recent days point to daily, ongoing guerilla actions as a factor throwing doubt over such a perspective.

With such uncertainties and with military developments still unfolding, the Gemayel-Reagan line consists of efforts to maintain Western support mobilised in favour of the Beirut regime on the basis of the fabricated thesis that the conflict is due to "foreign forces" and, in Amin's words, that it reflects "not a civil strife but a confrontation between the Lebanese people and foreign aggression." This thesis has already been officially disowned by the French government and by the great majority of the Western media. It may not hold for long. For the moment, it also constitutes the only means for the Phalangist "president" to maintain around him, and above all in the army, a minimum of cohesion. The resistance leaders' insistence on the "Lebanese character" of their battle represents, for this very reason, the only politically correct method, at the present stage, to rally the support of the largest possible sectors of Lebanese opinion, including and especially Beirut, around a struggle which may yet be long and complicated.

# LEBANESE RESISTANCE BATTLES US, GEMAYEL ALL WEEK

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

### September 20

The conquest by the Lebanese resistance forces of the mountain-top roads leading to south Beirut and the coastal plans and of Souq al-Gharb is almost complete. Latest reports say fierce fighting continues, house-to-house and man-to-man against the last of the Lebanese Army, which is being supported by the direct counter-offensive of US forces in Lebanon. The liberation war of the Lebanese people has entered a crucial phase, the developments of which will have far-reaching consequences on the future of the entire region.

The Druze forces entered Souq al-Gharb, almost completely destroyed after 10 days of intense shelling. The Lebanese Army had concentrated large numbers of US newly-delivered tanks, armoured vehicles and heavy artillery, on Monday morning, following a two-pronged attack, the night before, from the Aley area in the north-east and from the south. Entire units of the Lebanese Army are reported to have been destroyed in the fighting. At 11:00 am, with the army's resistance breaking down and the Gemayel regime in panic, two US naval units, the destroyer John Rodgers and the guided missile carrier Virginia began to fire a powerful barrage, lasting one hour, in support of the government forces who continued to cede.

At 2:30 pm, the US naval artillery renewed its barrage for another 45 minutes. The shelling is considered to be the biggest US naval action so far since the Vietnam War. Sixth Fleet commander, Vice Admiral Edward Martin, a Vietnam War veteran who spent five years in prison in Hanoi, openly admitted that the fire was aimed at "military targets threatening the Lebanese Army defences at Souq al-Gharb," which, he said, repeating the Reagan formula, were vital to American interests.

In fact, in contrast with official versions, Monday's action by US naval forces was not the first direct American military action in support of the Lebanese Army with no connection to the "protection of the Marines" based at the airport. On Saturday night, heavy naval artillery fire was opened by the John Rodgers and the frigate Bowen against resistance positions situated in Syrian-controlled areas. The attack, in which at least 60 rockets were fired, was later denied by the US command spokesman, despite available proof and testimonies, including those of multinational force experts.

The attack provoked a Syrian warning on Sunday that its forces, if attacked, will fire back against "any source of attack on land, sea and air." According to the false denial of Marine command spokesman, Major Jordan, only small arms were used "to protect the Lebanese defence ministry in Yarze where American officers are located" to guide the so-called Lebanese military operations. Also on Friday, September 16, the airport-based Marines shelled Shi'ite positions not in "self-defence" but to support Lebanese Army troops attempting to occupy Kaifun and Aitat in order to encircle Shuaifat. Despite the US fire power, and premature Beirut communiques announcing a successful operation, the troops have not advanced more than 400 metres towards Kaifun and remained blocked there under heavy shelling by resistance positions.

US naval artillery has "marked" all the batteries of the resistance forces in their present positions, by shooting one or two shells next to each of them, evidently in preparation for imminent air strikes. On Sunday, US F-14s took off from the Eisenhower for raids over mountain areas. Immediately, Syrian MIGs rose to survey Beqa'a positions.

On Friday, three Lebanese air force Hawker Hunters, recently equipped with sophisticated US electronic equipment, were put out of action — one shot down over the sea, and two others landed for repairs at Akrotiri's British base in Cyprus — by the resistance's 122 mm batteries they were attempting to bomb. On Sunday, the three remaining Hawker Hunters of the Lebanese air force strafed Syrian ground-to-ground missiles in the Batrun region, where a new front line has opened, with artillery heavily shelling the entire Phalangist-dominated region of Byblos, where a make-shift airstrip had been built on the northern highway. The airstrip was seen going up in flames Sunday night.

Multinational force sources report in this connection that the US advisors to the Lebanese armed forces intend to replace the Hawker Hunters and potentiate the air strikes by the use of Cobra helicopters based on board the US naval unit Tarawa. The Cobras are now being re-equipped for air strikes with fragmentation rockets, long-range machine guns and anti-tank missiles.

The US military force in the Beirut area, on and off shore, now amounts to 13,000 combat troops (1200 in the airport, 2800 Marines ready to land, 6000 on the Eisenhower, 3000 sailors, pilots and technicians on board the other 10 warships of the Sixth Fleet, entirely present in the Beirut waters), plus hundreds of advisors, Green Beret instructors and other military logistics personnel.

In addition, there are close to 10,000 NATO multinational troops in Beirut, each of them with its own naval and air force units. The arrival of six Soviet naval units, to be joined by others presently crossing into the Mediterranean is, however, equally reported.

Asked whether the thousands of Marines may be ordered to land and attack Lebanese resistance forces, Admiral Martine told Italian news agency *ANSA* correspondent: "I cannot exclude any possibility . . .our task is to create the conditions in which the Lebanese authorities can exercise their functions . . . We have brought here sufficient forces for any type of action and we are ready for every possibility." It remains, however, to be seen, as a resistance spokesman noted, "whether the Americans would accept that Marines should die for Amin Gemayel."

# Curfews, arrests after WB demos

Israeli military authorities lifted the curfew on Balata refugee camp, near Nablus, and the qasbah neighbourhood in the city, September 20, two days after it was imposed following demonstrations and stone-throwing incidents. Nablus sources said that both the city and the nearby refugee camp remain "tense." The large army presence countinues to be targets for young stone throwers.

Dheisheh refugee camp, outside of Bethlehem, has been under curfew since September 18.

Demonstrations broke out in the Nablus city centre and the qasbah neighbourhood on Sunday morning, September 18, which marked the first year anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres. Nablus residents report that youths hurled stones at Israeli military patrols. Youths also raised Palestinian flags on Nablus rooftops, including the local mosque. More than 280 residents of Nablus have been rounded up following demonstrations.

Following encounters with patrolling soldiers, the military declared a curfew on both areas. A number of youths were arrested on suspicion of taking part in the demonstration. They now await trial.

Despite the presence of large numbers of soldiers on patrol in the streets and the military outposts which stand opposite Dheisheh refugee camp, youths took to the streets shouting anti-occupation slogans. When soldiers tried to disperse them, they threw stones at them. The camp was later put under curfew.

Stone-throwing incidents were also reported from Jenin, the northern-most city in the West Bank.

In Balata refugee camp, which was under heavy guard three days before the Sabra and Shatila anniversary, protest activities were restricted on Sunday. The next day, however, fierce demonstrations occurred in the crowded camp during which one soldier was reported to have sustained severe injuries. According to reports emerging from the camp, the soldier was hit with a stone in the eye. He was hospitalised.

The camp was later put under curfew for 24 hours. Residents contacted by *Al Fajr* said that military patrols were stationed near the Balata social club and the graveyard overlooking the camp. The resident said that soldiers erected five tents near the graveyard, which they equipped with water and electricity. He further said that they fear the authorities might be trying to maintain a watch around the camp.

Earlier a number of residents told the Palestine Press Service (PPS) in Jerusalem that some Israeli land surveyors were taking measurements inside the camp. PPS also quoted residents as saying that the authorities are planning to open a 25 metre road, through the middle of the camp. This highway is believed to be a link between Shilo settlement in the south and Tapuah and Elon Moreh settlements in the north. Residents fear that the authorities might be seeking to move them to another area, under security pretexts. A similar procedure was carried out in Gaza in the early 1970s.

# FOUR INJURED BY HEBRON GRENADE

Four Hebron residents were wounded, two seriously, on the evening of September 16, after unknown assailants tossed a hand grenade inside a clothes store on Sahleh Street near the Ibrahimi Mosque. The four youths, and a fifth mentally retarded man, were arrested.

Ahmad Ashour Abu Sneineh, the most seriously wounded, was immediately sent to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem for treatment. The three other youths, Fayez Yusef Shayukhi, 30, Hani Hassan Shayukhi, 18, and Zayed Ismael Shayukhi, 20, were first taken to Hebron's Alia Hospital but were transferred to Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem. Soon after their arrival, they were transferred again, by Israeli soldiers, to Hadassah Hospital, where two of them, whose injuries were light, were arrested. Policemen were posted at the doors of the rooms for the two youths who remained in hospital.

Initial police assessment of the incident, Israeli newspapers reported, was influenced by settlers who claimed that they were targetted by the attack. According to Israeli newspaper reports, the police theory was that unidentified people threw the British-made grenade towards a group of eight Jewish settlers who were passing near the scene.

One settler claimed that he "felt" the grenade touch his leg, before it "slid" towards the clothes store. These allegations were later proved unfounded.

According to *The Jerusalem Post*, police found no evidence to prove the settlers' claims. The West Bank correspondent of *HaAretz*, Zvi Barel, wrote that contrary to customary practice, settlers did not open fire when the grenade exploded. He concluded that "either settlers were a long way from the site of the explosion and therefore they were not the target, or they had prior knowledge that the incident was going to happen."

Barel told *Al Fajr* that when he asked the settlers why they didn't fire their weapons, they said that they "abide by government policy to fire only when subject to danger."

According to Israeli newspapers, police are now questioning a retarded youth who happened to be near the scene of the incident. The youth had brain surgery last year.

Hebron residents unequivocally accuse Israeli settlers of the attack. Relatives of the wounded youths reject the authorities' claims that their sons have any connection to the explosion. They also blame the police for "not even investigating the possibility that some of the passing settlers might have thrown the grenade at the store."

Press photographer Jamal Najjab is led away by police during the demonstration, September 18.

*continued from page 1*

## PROTEST

prevent people from escaping.

A crowd of around 200 people was dispersed less than five minutes after they gathered at the martyrs graveyard. After a speech and the reading from the *Quran*, an Israeli policeman ordered them to disperse in Hebrew.

One foreign eyewitness said she saw at least two people get beaten. Salman Fakhr al-Din, a Druze from the Golan Heights, and Jamal Najjab, a press photographer, were badly beaten with clubs as they were being taken to police cars. Three women at the cemetery were also pushed down the stairway by soldiers.

At the end of the raid, which lasted five minutes, Israeli soldiers and policemen drove to the Moscobiyya police compound with 24 people. Lenni Brenner, a US journalist and writer, was released immediately. Among the other detainees were Ismael Tazziz, head of the Pharmacists Union, Dr Salim Husseini and Faisal Husseini, directors of the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem, Hayel Abu Jabal, Salman Fakhr al-Din, and Fawzi Abu Jabal, from the Golan Heights, Dani Amit, one of the leaders of the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, and three French journalists.

During the protest, members of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon distributed a leaflet denouncing the Israeli government policy against the Palestinian people. The statement asserted that the massacre of Sabra and Shatila "occurred against a background of Israeli government policy of repression and brutal attacks against universities, municipalities and PLO supporters." It also noted that the Israeli policies serve the "chauvinistic ideology of expansion at the expense of native inhabitants."

The Israeli dispersion of the gathering disrupted a scheduled march to al-Aqsa Mosque, inside the Old City, where a memorial prayer was to be held.

After the dispersion of the gathering, some youths on the walls of the Old City, overlooking the grave yard, hurled stones at the soldiers, injuring one soldier in the head. The soldiers responded by firing tear gas. The soldiers also chased youngsters, who all escaped.

The September 18 gathering had been called by Palestinian national institutions in the occupied territories, two days earlier. In a statement which was distributed to the press, Palestinian personalities called on the Palestinian people to "conmemorate the first anniversary of the massacre by all means, including protests, strikes, and memorial prayers in churches and mosques." The statement also reaffirmed adherence to national demands of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, the right to national self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

After prayers at al-Aqsa, a small group of demonstrators raised a Palestinian flag. They were quickly dispersed by a large force of police in the Old City.

Virtually all businesses were closed in East Jerusalem, September 18.

The Israeli police called press photographers on the morning of the demonstration, telling them to gather at the site.

# Prisoner's health critical

Palestinian political prisoner Nabil Khalil Shawkeh, 25, from Nablus, who suffers from kidney problems, requires immediate treatment to save his life his lawyer Felicia Langer told *Al Fajr*, September 21.

His family petitioned last May for his release. Their letters were ignored. Since then, Shawkeh has been sent several times to Ramle prison hospital for dialysis. According to medical sources in the jail, his health is in danger.

Langer, who visited the prisoner in Ramle prison three weeks ago, said he must be released immediately if his life is to be saved. She is reportedly considering further efforts in order to get him released.

Nabil Shawkeh is serving a four-and-a-half year prison sentence. He was arrested November 1982 on a charge with membership in an "illegal organisation" and training in the use of arms.

# Burg and friends hit Egypt

Israeli Interior and Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg summoned, September 18, several pro-occupation notables and appointed mayors from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to lecture them on the importance of coexistence between the Arabs and Jews and Israel's intention to provide Palestinians with "maximum self-rule." Burg headed the Israeli team in negotiations with Egypt.

One day earlier, Butros Ghali, the Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, stated that the Camp David accords signed five years ago did not achieve the aim of attaining the Palestinians' legitimate rights. Ghali noted that only the first part of the Camp David accords regarding the withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai was carried out and accused Israel of placing obstacles before a settlement to the Palestinian question and granting them self-determination.

In his meeting, Burg expressed "frustration and disappointment" at Ghali's statement and claimed that Israel is ready to resume the autonomy talks. Burg, who seized the occasion of the Muslim *al-Adha* three-day feast to summon the Israeli-backed figures, claimed that Israel has no desire to meddle in the religious, welfare, educational, cultural and labour affairs of West Bank and Gaza Strip residents.

This was the first time that Burg has met with West Bankers on the occasion of a religious holiday. He told reporters afterwards that he would like to return the visit of his Arab guests.

# Arroub youths beaten, jailed

Ten Palestinian youths from the Arroub refugee camp were rounded up, beaten and arrested in the aftermath of the stoning of an Israeli bus near the camp, September 12.

According to *The Jerusalem Post* of September 15, Jewish settlers from the settlement of Kiryat Arba, including the chairman of the Kiryat Arba local council, Shalom Wach, participated in the attack. *The Post* quoted eyewitnesses as having seen the "severely swollen" youths at the Hebron detention centre.

Residents of the refugee camp on the Bethlehem-Hebron road told *Al Fajr* that the youths have not been seen since their arrest. The youths are being held at Fara'a detention centre near Jenin, according to reports.

# DRUZE EXPRESS SOLIDARITY AGAINST US, GEMAYEL

The Palestinian Druze spiritual leadership and federation of the Druze local councils are discussing the option of calling for the cancellation of the compulsory military service. Sources in the community say the move could come if there is continued US Marine involvement in Amin Gemayel's war against the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon.

Jamal Muadi, the chairman of the Druze Initiative Committee, told *Al Fajr* that some nationalist Palestinian Druze are attempting "to convince Druze circles close to the government to adopt this procedure." Muadi said that the involvement of the US Marines in the battles has caused a great deal of resentment among the Palestinian Druze and unified the opposing progressive and traditional leaders in blaming and condemning the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its support for the Phalange forces.

During the past two weeks both sides have announced their full support of Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party in attempts to stop the spread of the Phalange into the Shouf mountains.

Over 100 Druze demonstrated in Tel Aviv, September 19, in front of the US Embassy and shouted slogans against the involvement of the US Marines. The spiritual head of the Druze sect in Israel, Sheikh Amin Tarif, met Samuel Lewis, the US Ambassador to Israel, and demanded that the "US not interfere in Lebanon's affairs by supporting the Phalange against the Druze." The US ambassador told Tarif that the US policy is to support the Lebanese government.

According to progressives, the Palestinian Druze population believes that the involvement of the US in Lebanon has been approved by Israel. Palestinian Druze consider the Israeli policy in Lebanon contrary to Druze interests.

Muadi said that what is happening in Lebanon is due to the Israeli invasion. "I consider this (demonstration) a victory for the Druze Initiative Committee," Muadi said, "which demanded the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and analysed the situation as a conflict between the national Lebanese movement on one hand and the US and Israeli-backed Phalange and Gemayel regime on the other hand.

"The 50,000 to 60,000 Druze in Palestine will do their utmost to influence the Israeli government not to interfere in the fighting in the Shouf. We want to offer political support to the PSP," he concluded.

Traditional and progressive Druze have been active since the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, supporting co-religionists and the Progressive Socialist Party. After the Tel Aviv demonstration, activists vowed to continue their protest, promising to escalate it so long as the Druze community in Lebanon is under Israeli, Phalange and US threats.

Nazareth meeting held to mark massacre anniversary

# GALILEE, TRIANGLE PROTEST MASSACRES

Under the banner "No Forgetting, No Forgiveness, Constant Struggle Against Aggression," Palestinians from pre-1948 villages and towns commemorated the massacres of Sabra and Shatila in Nazareth, September 18. Speakers enthusiastically condemned the massacres. The meeting was chaired by poet Samih al-Qassem. Tawfiq Toubi was the chief speaker. Apart from Peace Now and Parents Against Silence, which did not answer invitations to speak, representatives of all Israeli peace groups and several progressive Arab organisations were present and spoke.

There was a general strike in the Galilee and the Triangle called by the Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace and supported by progressive councils and the Committee Against the War in Lebanon.

Traditional ceremonies for *Id al-Adha* were cancelled and the Palestinian Muslims performed memorial prayers for martyrs. In Majd Krum, near Acre, villagers marched through the streets. In nearby Kufr Yasif, students demonstrated, carrying placards calling for solidarity with the Sabra and Shatila martyrs and the "heroes of the Shouf and the Lebanese National Salvation Front."

In Wadi Wisnas, the remaining Arab quarter of Haifa residents held a meeting in which the speakers honoured the unity of the Palestinian people and called the massacre "ugly and inhuman."

There were also protests in Taibeh, Deir al-Assad and Kowkab in the Galilee.

In Baqa al-Ghasbiyya, in the Triangle, locals hoisted a Palestinian flag and attacked the local police station. A demonstration was held in Um al-Fahm and in nearby Ara police were attacked by stone-throwing youths. Police broke into the local Communist Party club and arrested Zuhair Bayadseh and Rayan Mowasi on charges of hoisting the Palestinian flag over the local Bank Leumi.

A silent march commemorating the massacre of Sabra and Shatila was organised by the *Abna' al-Balad* movement in the north Galilee village of Kowkab.

About 500 men, women and children marched through the streets for an hour carrying black flags and placards reading "We shall not forget, we shall not forgive" and "We will carry the message of the martyrs of Sabra and Shatila forever."

A force of Israeli police entered the village during the march but did not intervene. "Apparently the large number of the participants — about one-quarter of the village population — prevented the police from breaking up the march by force," said one resident.

Almost every resident in Kowkab has relatives in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon as well as in other Arab countries.

Last year as soon as news of the massacres broke, the whole village took to the streets in noisy demonstrations for three consecutive days.

# Shamir set to take reins

Israeli President Chaim Herzog gave the nod to Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir to form a new Likud coalition government in place of Menachem Begin's, who retired for reasons of 'ill health'. Shamir is not expected to make any policy changes, and has been called Begin's "automatic rubber stamp" in meetings over the years. Shamir is a former commander of the Stern Gang, a terrorist organisation which operated in pre-1948 Palestine.

Begin finally submitted his resignation, one month after he announced he was leaving his post, to the Israeli president September 15. The two-sentence resignation letter was delivered through cabinet Secretary Dan Meridor.

Herzog's decision to ask Shamir, a member of the Herut Party, to form the government came after intensive discussions with all the factions in the Israeli Knesset, as called for under the Israeli constitution.

The Herut Party holds an agreement signed by the various Likud coalition members supporting Shamir.

The opposition Labour Party was apparently unable to convince Herzog to ask Labour head Shimon Peres to form the next government, despite the fact that their party has the largest number of seats in the Knesset, 50, compared to the Likud's 46.

The communist-dominated Democratic Front for Peace and Equality had agreed to support the Labour Party in a government bid if it agreed to immediately withdraw from Lebanon and recognise Palestinian Arab rights.

# Lists in for Council poll

Final lists of candidates for local council elections scheduled to take place inside the 'green line' on October 25 were submitted September 15. In Palestinian villages the major contest will be between the Israeli Communist Party-dominated Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and traditional personalities running under the banner of the Israeli Labour Party. Progressive nationalist Palestinians are running on separate lists in five villages, and in one list with the Democratic Front in Lydda.

With all the lists finally in, the Democratic Front emerged as the only organised group with a unified regional election programme. Emil Tuma, member of the administrative committee of the Democratic Front responsible for the elections, said that the Front has issued principled and practical programmes: one calling for changes in the laws and regulations governing the election process and the running of local councils; the second containing general demands of all Arab residents.

In the principled programme, the Democratic Front calls for an organised relationship between the central and local governments through changing existing laws which were inherited from the British mandate. The programme states that the DF is particularly concerned to abolish laws which empower the Israeli interior minister to interfere in the running of local councils. During the past two years, the Israeli interior minister, using these powers, dissolved five local councils, two of which were headed by Democratic Front members. The local councils of Maghar and Iblin were sacked because of their resistance to attempts of land grabbing.

The DF programme also calls for the establishment of local councils in nearly 50 villages, the abolition of discriminatory tax laws which oblige village councils to collect additional taxes for the number of rooms in each house and replacing that by deducting a certain percentage from the income tax.

Practical demands in the programme included eliminating discrimination in terms of allocation of budgets and funds for development programmes, industrialisation of Arab villages, preparing zoning maps for Arab villages, granting villagers construction licences, extending village boundaries and granting villages with populations over 15,000 a municipal council status. This situation applies to at least four villages: Taibeh and Um al-Fahm in the Triangle and Arrabeh and Tamrah in the Galilee.

The Democratic Front now controls 16 local councils, including Nazareth, the largest Arab city. DFPE leaders say they expect to maintain the achievements of the 1978 elections and make gains in a number of other villages.

Traditional local council candidates are usually organised on *hamula* (clan) grounds. Representatives of Israeli parties, especially the Labour Party, recruit individual family heads to run on their ticket. The party provides funds and government support to candidates, but they seldom have a party line. Most Zionist parties have lists in villages.

A third group which entered the election race on a smaller scale was progressive nationalist forces represented by *Abna' al-Balad* and *Al-Nahda* movements. *Abna' al-Balad* is competing in the elections for the villages of Deir Hanna, Arrabeh, Kabul, Sakhnin, and in two lists in Um al-Fahm. They are running on one list with the Democratic Front in Lydda. During the 1978 elections, *Abna' al-Balad* ran in three villages and won two seats in Um al-Fahm local council. Members of the movement say there was a lack of enthusiasm for the elections. This was due to the fact that active members of the movement had been restricted to their own villages, which prevented regional coordination for the elections.

Voting is on a list basis: votes are counted for the entire list rather than one candidate. The total vote determines the number of candidates who get seats. The election of the mayor of the local council head is done on a separate ballot by a popular vote. The winner must pull at least 40 percent of the total vote. Run-offs between the top two candidates will be held November 11, where necessary.

The Dawn
**AL FAJR**
Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

**Publisher:**
Paul A. Ajlouny
**Editor-in-chief:**
H.S. Siniora
**Managing editor:**
Sam'an Khoury

**Tel: (02)281035**
**P.O. Box 19315**
**East Jerusalem**

**Telex no.s:**
**Jerusalem: 26467 omar il**
**Washington: 64677 omar uw**

**Al Fajr** was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980.
**The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686-630)** is published weekly for $40.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al-Fajr 2025 I Street N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

# WHEN THE STAGE MANAGERS BEGIN TO ACT

The US Congress is about to grant their war-mongering president, Ronald Reagan, permission to extend the stay of US Marines in Lebanon for 18 more months and at the same time they continue to deceive their constituents that the Marines are a peacekeeping force.

The firepower pointed toward Lebanon is the latest of a long list of crimes committed in the name of peace by US imperialist forces throughout the world since World War II. In Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, long wars have been fought for American hegemony under the slipping guise of achieving peace and stability.

Boosted by the election of super-hawk Ronald Reagan, the US directly involved itself in suppressing revolutionary forces in the Middle East. The famous Philip Habib recently retired from his "peace shuttle" to watch garrisons of American troops placed in the area.

As soon as Israel managed to plant the puppet regime in Beirut, American troops flooded the area – they pulled out only for as long as it took for supporters of the new government to massacre Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila.

As long as Israeli troops were in the Beirut area, the Americans were able to keep their hands clean, play innocent and "peacekeeping." But when Israel could not maintain the expense in bodies and money, the Americans had to step in themselves and put their Marines on the line.

Under the pretext of defending the 1200 American troops on the ground, the US administration has prepared 2000 more. In turn the 2000 are backed by tens of thousands. When the deployed troops began participating in the actual fighting, their involvement gradually escalated from "defensive" to offensive, while the American public backed their leaders' brute force for the great job they were doing in keeping peace.

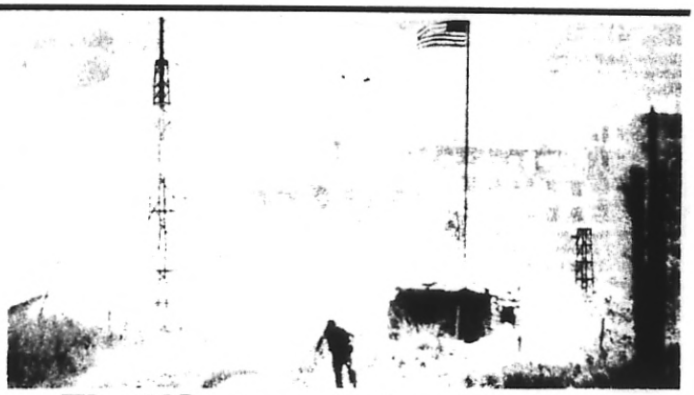
Eventually they will leave too, their bloody footsteps following Israel's after their losses become unbearable, as they eventually will.

One more curtain has been drawn back on Lebanon's stage. The stage managers are beginning to act.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US $40

I WISH TO SUBSCRIBE TO AL FAJR
NAME. . . . . .
ADDRESS . . . . . .
ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .
DATE . . . . . SIGNED . . . . . .
Mail to:
In US
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC 20006 USA



# The US Steps in for Israel

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington Correspondent

It is being acknowledged in the US that the role of the Marines in Lebanon has now changed from one of peacekeeper to a party in the internal conflict. The change has taken place in a slow but definite form. From having the right originally only to defend themselves with light weapons, now the US Marines and the approximately 14,000 other members of the US armed forces are using intense firepower – not to defend themselves, but to achieve objectives set originally by Israel in June 1982 when it invaded Lebanon. These include supporting the Israeli-installed and supported government of a member of the Phalangist Gemayel family at the expense of the majority of the Lebanese.

The direct American involvement is a commitment to determine the conclusion of a civil war which Lebanon has been fighting on and off since 1958. Political analysts and commentators in papers here all predict that regardless of how much military power the US intends to use against the dissatisfied majority of Lebanese, the results will not be lasting and not in favour of the US.

One such commentator is Ze'ev Schiff, the military correspondent of *HaAretz*, now on leave. Schiff recommended to US officials in an Op-Ed piece in *The New York Times*, September 20, that the solution to Lebanon is not military power. He based his argument on the fact that Israel used all it could and without any of the restrictions imposed on the US, only to finally leave the Lebanon conflict and fortify itself in the south.

The shelling of the nationalist forces in Aley by American naval units, which are also threatening Souq al-Gharb, is being described by the media here as the most intense since the Vietnam war. It is also agreed that the order to fire the more than 300 rounds of 47 pound shells was approved at the highest level of the American government, either by Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger or by the president himself. The purpose behind the American shelling, it was said at a State Department briefing September 19, was to prevent certain defeat of Gemayel's forces – both the army and the Phalangist Lebanese Forces – at Souq al-Gharb.

The fall of Souq al-Gharb, it was rationalised, would expose the Marines to hostile fire. Outside the administration most people understand it was to prevent the demoralising of the American-trained Lebanese army and possibly the collapse of Gemayel.

The escalation in the US role in Lebanon has been criticised by the French government through its Minister of Foreign Affairs Claude Cheysson, who stated that American military firepower is not the way to solve the conflict in Lebanon. The American escalation, it is believed here, will continue with the arrival of the aircraft carrier USS New Jersey, now on its way to the shores of Lebanon and expected to arrive there by September 23. It is equipped with huge 16-inch guns capable of firing 2700 pound shells a distance of 48 kilometres.

The US Congress is not challenging the White House on the terms of the War Powers Act. This act, passed by Congress in 1973 after the Vietnam experience, limits the US president's power to send troops where hostilities are taking place or are imminent for more than 60 to 90 days. The War Powers Act authorises Congress to either recall troops after a maximum of 90 days or approve their stay. Because the US is trying to complete the Israeli task, Congress is not eager to recall Marines. According to reports, September 20, Congress and Reagan have 'agreed to disagree' on the applicability of the War Powers Act and both agree to keep the Marines there for at least 18 months.

Most Arab governments are very characteristically either standing by quietly (some joyfully), and others are playing a mediator's role.

Some American analysts are critical of the US role and are stating these criticisms openly, but are fearful of a supposed Arab reaction. They argue that the US is unquestionably taking sides with "minority Christian" factions in Lebanon, the perpetrators of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila exactly a year ago, and against the "Muslim majority." These analysts' fear of Arab reaction is one of wishful thinking, judging by the Arab governments' performance last year in the Israel-Palestine war.

American officials, from the very beginning of this last outbreak of hostilities in Lebanon, have looked for the Palestinian factor in order to legitimise their military involvement. If the Palestinian factor were not there, the Americans would have invented it. Early in the conflict it was said here that there is evidence of Palestinian involvement, then there was more evidence, finally clear evidence of the actual capture of Palestinian fighters, as was stated on the 19th by John Hughs, the State Department spokesperson. When asked by *Al Fajr* to back allegations of the presence of Palestinians in the fighting, Hughes said that the Lebanese authorities have stated that it is so and that he has "no reason to doubt" them. Asked to comment on Chairman Arafat's statement that Palestinians will not be violating last year's agreement on the PLO's departure from Beirut if they went back now, because both Israel and the US have violated the agreement, Hughes rejected Arafat's argument. He said this argument "doesn't hold water" because Israel has left West Beirut and the US is playing a "peacekeeper" role.

The American involvement in Lebanese affairs is not expected by experts here to produce more than Israeli involvement did. The difference is that the Israelis learned fast that their military power would not grant them what they wanted and they withdrew to fortified bases. The Americans, a superpower, have not learned. The price may be high for both Lebanon, the region and the US – but they have to learn themselves.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request

# CLASSROOM PROPAGANDA

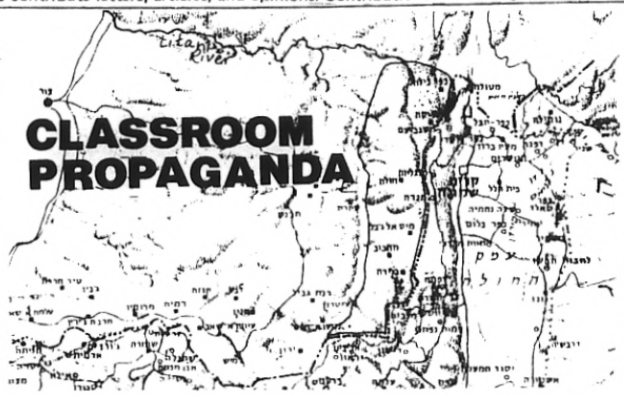
by Thoma Shick

*Not only a smile . . .*

The article I wrote a few weeks ago about the 1948 conquest of Beer Sheba with comments from the Israeli army magazine that Zionists should go to the Galilee and furtner, might have left you with some questions. On the basis of this army comment, I raised the rhetorical question: When did the 'Campaign for Peace in the Galilee' begin? There have been further developments:

A set of maps has come into my hands which was prepared by the official Israeli 'Publications Service, Information Centre.' It is billed "a new updated version, New Year 5736, September 1976." It is called: "Galilee — Valley and Carmel" and is widely distributed to schools and youth movements. In its three versions it looks definitely innocent. The titles of the maps are: "Sights of Galilee, Touring Sites," "Galilee in the Past" and "Galilee Today and Tomorrow." Careful eyes would stop at the last two.

"Past" is very far back, some thousands of years ago. The map shows "tribal boundaries." The borderline delineating the area of the tribes Asher and Nafthali reaches the Litani River in Lebanon. In fact, it does not formally end there but simply drops off into the water. The tribes have no formal boundaries to the north or east. However, this is a minor point as the map relates to ancient times.




**Excerpt from the Israeli map entitled "Galilee, Today and Tomorrow." The darkly shaded area west of the Galilee panhandle is referred to in the index as "occupied temporarily in the War of Independence."**

On examining the rest of the brochure, some doubts about its relevance or irrelevance infiltrated my mind.

"Today and Tomorrow" indicates the present boundaries of the state of Israel. In this it is exceptional among recent Israeli maps. By and large, official and non-official maps of Israel and the territories occupied in 1967 do not indicate the 'green line' boundaries with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or the international border with the Syrian Golan Heights; the international boundary with Jordan is indicated as a demarcation line and only in the most recent editions is the international boundary with Egypt indicated as such. On this map, west alongside the Galilee panhandle, an area is coloured in green. The index describes this patch as "Occupied Territory (occupied temporarily in the War of Independence)." Please recall: the tile of the map is "Galilee — Today and Tomorrow." This area also extends to the Litani River. Now, what about your doubts?

This is called "educational material." It is. For hundreds of thousands of teachers, there is no 'green line' in the mind but there might be a patch of green land up in Lebanon...

*****

Speaking of education, let me tell you something else. At the end of June 1983, the Israeli minister of education and culture, Zevulen Hammer, stated, "In order to avoid an internecine fight, the education for unification of Israel will be given top priority." He made this statement in the Knesset, adding: "In this framework, there will be education for increased brotherhood, understanding and unity between one person and another, for bringing together the hearts of pupils from (rich and mostly European) kibbutzim and (mostly overpopulated by Oriental Jews) development towns, between the pious and the secular, between Jews and Arabs." The minutes added that his office's aim is to hasten the progress of pupils from the weaker sections of the population.

Minister Hammer disclosed that his office has already introduced the computer era into the schools and that it is in the first stages in schools for those "needing improvement." *Yediot Aharanot* reported on this June 28, adding that Knesset members were not interested in the subject and even the very few who attended left soon after the session started.

Why do I tell you all this? Because, as I told you above, the 'green line' is not on the maps anymore — automatically, without any resort to a Knesset decision. However, education is for friendship...

*With a smile*
*—Thoma*

THE PRESENT PROGRAMME OF THE KACH MOVEMENT CALLS FOR THE EXPULSION OF AS MANY PALESTINIANS AS POSSIBLE FROM ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

# Inviting a New Holocaust

by Manar al-Amal

At 8:45 pm every Monday and Thursday night Rabbi Meir Kahane is ready and willing to try to "grandfather" Jews into joining his particular sect of Jewish fascists, the Kach (Thus) movement. The present programme of the group calls for the expulsion of as many Palestinians as possible from Israel and the occupied territories. This, they say is the only way to guarantee the security of a Jewish *Eretz Israel*.

At his Kach-sponsored Museum of the Potential Holocaust in West Jerusalem, Kahane's speech is as worn-out as his looks; the wall on which he leans when speaking has been rubbed of paint — silent testimony to the amount of time he has spent trying to convince people to join his band of fanatic separatists. Kahane's sagging middle-aged paunch, scruffy beard and blood-shot right eye also belie his self-image as a latter-day Israelite warrior.

Founder of the militant Jewish Defence League in America, of which Kach is the Israeli off-shoot, not surprisingly Kahane is shunned by most established Zionists as belonging to the radical lunatic fringe and has been censored, boycotted and imprisoned in America, his country of birth, Israel, where he chose to settle, and in many other countries. He was held in administrative detention for six months several years ago for his part in a plot to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque in East Jerusalem.

The main thrust of his approach to young American Jews is to seek to drug them with his delusions of grandeur and to convince them that only his brand of violent religious Zionism is God's Zionism.

The Kahane Show takes place in a room covered with clippings from US neo-Nazi groups, the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. The setting, along with Kahane's speech, is intended to instill fear of the gentiles in the hearts of his young, mostly-privileged audience. ("They want your money, they're jealous, they hate you...Come join me.") Apparently, the irony of this is lost on Kahane, who freely admits to us that Zionism is racism. This Kahane has often been referred to as a "Judeao-fascist," a new breed prevalent in Israel.

I have heard Kahane deliver this tourist-geared speech twice — heard the same "jokes" (bombing a million Egyptians to death might actually do them good, due to their overpopulation), witnessed the same melodrama (make settler babies in Israel — we owe Hitler 2 million) and heard the same twisted "ethical" basis of his philosophy ("Jewish strength and victory... are proof of the existence, power and omnipotence of the G-d of Israel. Because of this, it is a national injunction and imperative to follow an ongoing policy of sanctification by *never* retreating before the gentile"). Kahane preaches Jewish chauvinism to the point of deifying the entire race. Torah and Talmud-believing Jews can do no wrong, according to him, even if they do! "No guilt" is his favourite, and perhaps most seductive, refrain. Because Jews have historically suffered, Kahane tells us *he* (and others like him) have *carte blanche* to resettle Palestine in a method as violent as any used in the recent or distant past.

Kahane says he wants to found a "holy society" here, but for Jews only. According to him, religious Zionism means: "The non-Jew can live within the Jewish state only as a 'resident stranger' who enjoys his personal, social, cultural, and economic rights but with no citizenship, no political representation, no jobs in governmental service, and no say in the destiny of the country. Those who are not prepared to accept this cannot remain." This is the fundamental contradiction between Zionism embodied in the Jewish state and democracy. Zionism *is* racism. Kahane informs his audience of rather naive, young, mostly-American Jews that "the Jewish state can never make the (Palestinian) equal." Did they have to come to Israel to find that out?

This dilemma, Kahane claims, is one which the majority of Jews refuse to acknowledge, because (strangely enough!) they do not want to label themselves "racist" and "belligerent" when they have historically condemned such attitudes. Kahane's blunt logic continues: "If we wish peace and tranquility, there are only two possible solutions: either dismantle Israel or transfer her (Palestinian) hostile minority (to other Arab countries)." Not being a peaceful man — Kahane confidentially giggles to us that he's "crazy," and that everyone, especially the Palestinians, know this — Kahane chooses war: "The (Palestinians) who refuse to live as resident strangers (and they must be limited to a specific number that does not endanger the state) must be given a choice of leaving willingly with full compensation for their property or being compelled to leave without compensation."

How does Kahane intend to compensate Palestinians who already are refugees? He has not even considered them, since they've already fulfilled his plans. What if the Palestinians passively resist being put on trucks and being driven to the border by Kahane? "Burn them," he says 'jokingly'. Israel shouldn't worry about alienating the rest of the world, Kahane says at the conclusion of his membership drive speech. Even in the face of a nuclear exchange in the Middle East, Israel can never be destroyed because "the rabbis of the Talmud guarantee that (Israel) can never become a third exile." How comforting. Is he ready to have his bluff called?

How does Kahane intend to encourage Palestinians to "peacefully" leave *their* ancestral homes? He is already on record as encouraging violence against Palestinians: he refused to condemn the July 26 Hebron massacre; he began his reserve army duty a month ago vowing to shoot any stone thrower he could find; and he sent a telegramme to the US offices of *Al Fajr* two weeks ago expressing regret that the fire bombing of the Arabic daily's office did not do more damage.

And how does the Israeli government feel about all this? They are hypocritical enough to disavow him publicly as a radical. But since there have been no breakthroughs in the Hebron massacre case, we can assume that Kahane and his like will continue to carry out the dirty work of a government which is too caught in the contradictions of Zionism to try to impose true democracy on a corrupt system. Radical though he may be, Kahane is simply more honest than most Zionists about his desire to racially "purify" the land and also more willing to espouse and use force to achieve these ends.

The Kahane Show is a tragedy — the rabbi's tragic flaw is he thinks he is God's right-hand man, with a divine dispensation overruling all notions of democracy, tolerance, peace and justice. Murder, deportation, land theft, racism, etc. are justified barbarisms, he rationalises, because they were committed by an ancient race in an old book he's happened to have read. Kahane must be about 3100 years old, for surely he's living in that ancient past. Maybe that's why he looks so tired?

# WITHDRAWAL DOES NOT SHIFT BLAME

by Eliahu Selftar

The withdrawal from the Shouf mountains does not remove the blame for the Israeli war in Lebanon.

The decision to pull back to the Awali River does not eliminate the results of the misconstrued invasion — not regarding Israel or the Lebanese population. It is not possible to make a normal egg from an omelette, and in a war it is not possible to say, "Excuse us, we made a mistake," even if it comes out that those who sponsored it were misled.

A war, any war, changes the *status quo* which existed before its outbreak. Stopping the war, and even going back to the previous lines, does not bring back to life those who fell and does not create normality.

Since the Israeli government got rid of (former Defence Minister) Sharon and (former Cheif of Staff) Eitan and understood that it was they who led Israel into a hopeless adventure, it has, fortunately, decided to withdraw. But whoever sees the pullback as a positive step must not mislead themselves or others and say that we will not have to pay the price of the adventure again.

The fact that Christians and Druze have been slaughtering each other for the last 100 years must have served as a warning to the Israeli government not to try to make a political arrangement in Lebanon; it cannot be used as a pretext that what is going on now in the areas which we evacuated does not concern us anymore.

We also should not ignore the fact that our situation, from many angles, is worse today that it was before the invasion and before the pullback: most of the "Christian cards" have been lost from our hands; Syria has a more decisive position in Lebanon than it had before the war; Israel's partnership with the US in the Middle East has been upset; and the relationship between the Druze and the Palestinian organisations has become stronger — with results which are difficult to evaluate, not only in connection with our position in Lebanon, but also regarding relations with the Druze population in Israel.

In order to see these things in their right dimensions, we should remember three objectives which justified the decision of Begin and Sharon to expand the operation:

a) "Destruction of the PLO." The ... Palestinian organisations have become partners and allies (temporarily at least) of the Druze in Lebanon and they are coming back to the Beirut area and maybe also to Beirut itself. The chief of staff, in an interview on the eve of the (Jewish) New Year, said: "There might be a new infrastructure for the ... (Palestinian fighters) in Lebanon."

b) "Pushing the Syrians back." More than half the Syrian army is in Lebanon and the Syrian artillery and supplies have become a decisive factor in the battles over the Shouf and the Beirut areas. Damascus has proved that it cannot only prevent arrangements in Lebanon, but also is almost proving its ability to impose any arrangement it likes.

c) "Establishing a strong central Lebanese government," which can build good neighbourly relations with Israel. As Gemayel's government fights in the suburbs of Beirut and "freezes" the circumcised withdrawal agreement, which is all that is left of Sharon's statements on peace agreements, the statements of Israeli ministers made over the last year are like a bitter joke.

Just as Mr Begin did not erase, by his resignation, his responsibility for what he did to the state of Israel in Lebanon (and in the West Bank), the Israeli government cannot evade responsibility, by drawing new lines on the map, for what happened and is happening now north of the Awali river. It is not difficult to understand the desire of the government to act as if what is happening today in the Shouf mountains and beside Beirut does not concern it anymore: this is part of its attempt to evade responsibility for what it did in Lebanon last year. But also whoever supports the withdrawal from Lebanon must not free the government from its responsibility for the failure:

First, the government did not make a correct evaluation of the results of the withdrawal: on the day of the withdrawal, the government explained to the Israeli public that after a little fighting and change of certain lines, the fronts will become stable and there will be a new balance between the Druze and the Christians. Nobody from the government predicted, apparently, the extent of the collapse of the Christians and the site of the Syrian victory — from behind the back of Walid Jumblatt.

Second, the withdrawal was carried out, in fact, according to an accurate military plan — but without political foresight. The Israeli army, which still suffers from what Ariel Sharon did to it, wants first of all to return home and recover. But the government was obliged to enable it to do this in such a way as to lessen the damage of Israel's political position in Lebanon, damage whose end we apparently have not seen yet. No sane man would suggest now that the Israeli army go back to Beirut and the Shouf mountains. But this does not mean that the government, which is responsible for sending the Israeli army into the bog of Lebanon, does not need to give the judgement on the results of the decision to start the withdrawal process. (Translation: HaAretz, September 13, 1983).

**Above, Israeli Chief of Staff Moshe Levy talks to Israeli soldiers following withdrawal to the Awali River. Below, continual bombing devastated Beirut during the Israeli invasion of 1982. Comments Eliahu Selftar: "Just as Mr Begin did not erase, by his resignation, his responsibility for what he did to the state of Israel in Lebanon (and in the West Bank), the Israeli government cannot evade responsibility, by drawing new lines on the map, for what happened and is happening now north of the Awali."**

# THE LOST COST OF THE WAR

by Eitan Harbar

Day after day it becomes clearer that the war in Lebanon was no small tragedy. Maybe not as big as that of the 1973 war, but it certainly is a tragedy. As far as I know there is not a single minister in the government nor a single general on the general staff who thinks differently. If it was possible to turn back the clock to the night on which it was decided to go to war, all the ministers, or almost all of them, would not have been drawn in by (ex-Prime Minister) Begin, (ex-Defence Minister) Sharon and (ex-Chief of Staff) Eitan. The prime minister grasped, even if it was too late, the tragedy which the state of Israel got stuck in in the war in Lebanon. In his dreams he did not evaluate how deep the bog of Lebnanon would be. If we stay in it, our situation will be very bad and if we get out of it, it will be much worse. An accomplished trap.

Sharon is responsible to a great extent for this trap. Not only him, but also former Defence Minister Moshe Dayan, and they are not the only two accused. Despite this, instead of lowering the volume and the tone, Sharon decided to stay on the map and in high profile. Rarely a day passes without him saying, attacking or suggesting something. He is convinced that the public, maybe his public, is stupid or amnesiac. He says something one day and the following day he says the opposite. The whole country is filled with Sharon. With the help of his subordinates in the radio he has something to comment on. The government,with the current Defence Minister Professor Moshe Arens, tries to save the situation and to reform what can be reformed if it is possible at all, and Mr Sharon still has something to say.

Sharon brought the Israeli army to the Shouf mountains, to the Beirut-Damascus road, with the claim that this was an excellent bargaining card. Dozens of Israeli soldiers were killed and injured in the strange battle over this road.

And now, whoever was the defence minister suggests the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Shouf mountains, as if nothing happened.

The Palestinian fighters are returning to Beirut and this is the bitter fact. The goals of the war in Lebanon, or, as it was once called, the "Peace for Galilee Operation", are being wiped out one after another. The few achievements which cost a price in blood are being wasted and the situation is quickly returning to what it was before. (Translated and excerpted from: Yediot Aharanot, September 13, 1983.)

# "IS NOT AMERICAN POLICY DETRIMENTAL TO PEACE?" Chairman Arafats' Address to the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine

The Palestinian people are proud that the United Nations is holding this important international conference to discuss the tragedy and the just cause of the Palestinian people. It is to be hoped that the conference will adopt a clear and sound position grounded in international legitimacy and which will lead to peace based on justice in Palestine, the land of divinely revealed religions and the fountainhead from which systems of law and justice have been bequeathed to mankind for all time.

I have the honour to address you from this international rostrum in the name of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine and the leader of their just struggle for freedom, democracy, peace, justice and national independence.

The people of Palestine are subjected daily to all kinds of political, economic, cultural, religious and social oppression and persecution because of the Zionist policy of occupation and expansion. In all their pains, sufferings and steadfastness, our struggling and valiant people have great hopes that your conference will be successful in ensuring the triumph of the benevolent international will, which is sincerely endeavouring to implement the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in order to put an end to the tragedy of this struggling people so that they can recover their inalienable national rights, including their right of return, self-determination and national independence as a real basis for the achievement of peace in the Middle East and so that our people can enjoy freedom and sovereignty in their own land, contribute to the establishment of international peace and take part in the advancement of human civilisation.

In the name of the PLO and of the people of Palestine, I would like to express our gratitude and appreciation of the government and the friendly people of Switzerland for holding this conference on their territory, and for all the effort made by the government of Switzerland to meet the requirements for the work and security of this conference despite all the pressures and constraints brought to bear on it and its friendly people in an attempt to obstruct the holding of this conference.

This conference is being convened pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which represents international legitimacy in our present era, to discuss an issue and a tragedy which resulted from a resolution adopted by the United Nations in 1947. In keeping with their commitment to the Charter, the principles and the peaceful aims of the United Nations, all states' members of the United Nations, especially the United States of America and Western countries which were behind the 1947 partition resolution, should be attending this conference. Unfortunately, we find it necessary to express the sorrow of our people at the manner in which these countries have evaded responsibility for their actions and have disregarded their international obligations concerning the achievement of peace based on justice and respect for the principles of international legitimacy in our contemporary era.

Brothers and friends, on behalf of the PLO and the Palestinian people, I would like to thank you for attending this conference and participating in its work so that, together, we can shoulder these human and international responsibilities for the defence of peace, freedom and democracy and endeavour to establish a human society of brotherhood, cooperation, freedom and peace.

I must also thank you for your decision to grant Palestine, through the PLO delegation, full membership in the conference. Our people regard this as an indication of the stand taken by the overwhelming majority of international public opinion in support of the struggle and the rights of our people. It also highlights the extent of the positive international consensus in response to the just cause of our people in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Your position clarifies the confusion which reigns in the minds of the people of Palestine and the peoples of the world concerning the clamourous representations made by the United States of America and other Western countries absent from this conference regarding human rights principles and peace at a time when they are not only ignoring the rights of the people of Palestine but are also silently condoning or helping the Zionist occupation authorities in their aggression and their violation of all international principles, values and laws. A simple review of the conduct of these countries, and especially the attitude of the United States of America, clearly shows that, in essence, their policies are not only incompatible with, but also detrimental to the peace, they are advocating. The late Jawaharlal Nehry aptly said that American policy had not contributed to a single real peace in the world but had participated in and brought about numerous wars since the United States of America became one of the two superpowers in the world.

The Security Council resolutions, adopted with the participation and approval of the government of the United States, condemned the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories of our homeland as an illegal action which hindered and obstructed peace. However, the United States of America is not pursuing any policy or taking any action to stop these acts of aggression. It is even obstructing the passage of any resolution hinting at the adoption of measures provided for in the Charter of the United Nations if Israel persists in its policy of establishing settlements, as happened recently when the United States delegation exercised its right of veto in the Security Council to prevent the adoption of such a resolution last month. The veto has become the standard response of the United States to any discussion by the Security Council of Israeli violations and acts of aggression against our people and nation.

President Reagan announced his well-known initiative on September 1, 1982, under the slogan of peace in the Middle East and then clearly denied the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state. In other words, he stripped the Palestinian people of their natural, international, legal rights. Is this not detrimental to the peace for which he is calling? The Soviet Union put forward an initiative for peace in the Middle East which was supported by our National Council. But President Reagan said there was no role for the Soviets in the peace process.

During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last summer, France and Egypt put forward a peace proposal which has not yet been placed on the agenda of the Security Council because the United States representative in the Security Council indicated that he would use his right of veto against the proposal simply because it included, *inter alia*, a reference to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Is this not detrimental to peace? Is this not advocacy of the right of might and conquest which was revoked by the Charter of the United Nations?

On October 1, 1977, Mr (Cyrus) Vance (then US secretary of state) and Mr (Andrei) Gromyko (USSR foreign minister) agreed on principles for a political solution of the Middle East problem. An official statement known as the "Vance-Gromyko Statement" was accordingly issued. However, a few days after its issue, this statement was disavowed by the United States. Is this not detrimental to peace?

In contrast to these great obstacles with which United States policy is burdening the people of Palestine and the crippling conditions that its policy imposes on the PLO, we note the huge extent of United States support for aggressive Israeli policies which reached its climax in the United States-Israeli Strategic Agreement. Is this not detrimental to peace?

In his initiative, Reagan said that the Israeli army is the strongest in the Middle East. But the war in Lebanon proved that military power does not achieve peace. The United States government is responsible for building this huge military power led by people who find in war, expansion, settlement and aggression the basis of their Zionist ideology and their colonial programme of action. Is this policy not detrimental to peace?

At the climax of the siege of Beirut by the Zionist invasion forces using internationally prohibited American weapons to kill thousands of innocent Lebanese and Palestinian civilians and, to be exact, on August 20, 1982, I received a signed written undertaking from (US Special Presidential Envoy to the Middle East) Philip Habib, the personal representative of the President of the United States of America, stipulating his government's commitment to guarantee the protection of civilians, Palestinian refugee camps and the fighters' families in Beirut from any aggression or threat to their security and safety after the evacuation of the heroes who defended Beirut against Israel's barbaric invasion. I also received an undertaking that the detainess in the Ansar detention camp will be freed in return for the handing over by the PLO of its Israeli prisoners to the International Red Cross.

While the PLO honoured its commitment, the United States government did not follow suit. It withdrew its troops from Beirut and pushed for the evacuation of the French and Italian multinational forces which took over the city of Beirut from us. This led to the occupation of the city by the Israeli invasion forces and the perpetration of all kinds of murders and acts of repression and terrorism directed against civilians, cultural centres and hospitals, culminating eventually in the horrific, historic massacre at Sabra and Shatila. Is this demonstration of American policy not detrimental to peace?

Following our departure from Beirut, the United States of America took over what has become known as the peace process in Lebanon, and brought about the so-called Lebanese-Israeli agreement which violated Lebanese sovereignty, thereby rewarding the Israeli invaders for their aggression and for the individual and collective massacres which they committed in Tyre and Sidon, Ain al-Hilweh, Hasbayya and Miye wa Miye refugee camps and at Nabatiya, Damour and Beirut. The United States of America equated the Israeli army of occupation with the Syrian forces present in Lebanon at the request and wish of the legitimate authorities of Lebanon as well as with the Palestinian forces present in Lebanon in accordance with the Cairo Agreement. But the heroic Lebanese people are resisting the occupation and the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and are demanding the withdrawal of the invading army which the United States government promised would be withdrawn before the end of 1982, and then before February 15, 1983, and then before March 20, 1983. But the United States of America did not carry out any of these promises. On the contrary, its policies brought about the fighting that is taking place now on Lebanese territory and which proves that what happened in Lebanon was a result not of the Palestinian presence but of expansionist, aggressive Israeli objectives supported by United States policy. Is this not detrimental to peace in the whole region?

Zionist acts of aggression are not confined to the land and people of Palestine. They also extend to the Golan Heights and the Syrian people, South Lebanon and the Lebanese people, and even parts of Sinai and the Egyptian people as we can see from the Taba area and the other 17 localities.

It is a policy of expansion, seizure and expropriation of land, establishment of settlements, and even judaization of our holy places as happened recently in Hebron and Jerusalem.

Like other peoples of the world, the Palestinian people hate war but are fighting for justice. Our people love peace and yearn for it. But they recognise that peace cannot be achieved while their rights and national identity are being denied.

Never in its history has our people engaged in aggression outside its national boundaries.

Through its history, our people has been a haven of refuge for victims of injustice and aggression.

The history of our people abounds with accounts of its continual resistance against invasions and occupations of its homeland.

Our people, nation and region have given human civilisation its three religions teaching love, equality, brotherhood and justice.

With this deep-rooted human heritage, our people are not fighting just for the sake of fighting. They are struggling for peace based on justice.

For all these reasons, our people accepted the Arab Peace Plan adopted at the Fez Summit Conference held in September 1982 and which was unanimously endorsed by the Arab states with a view to the establishment of peace based on justice in our land and in our region.

Most countries of the world approved this resolution. It was accepted by the non-aligned, African and Islamic states and supported by most of the Socialist as well as some of the West European states. It was also approved by the Palestine National Council at its most recent session in Algiers last February. It was rejected only by the governments of the United States and Israel.

This American attitude and Western silence clearly indicate that the colonialist mentality based on hegemony and expansion still exists in the policies of these states despite the fact that we live in an age in which the United Nations has resolved to eliminate colonialism from the world; an age in which all mental capabilities and efforts are mobilised to deal with issues related to the economic order and the limitation of nuclear arms through international dialogue and understanding free from colonialist hegemony so that the world will not be faced with a nuclear holocaust threatening the very survival of mankind. Western Europe has a great responsibility to play a true role in resolving the world's problems and in exerting a real effort to solve the problem of the people of Palestine in a manner consistent with the natural right of this people to self-determination and national independence.

Our Palestinian people is tired of the way in which the governments of Western European states are merely paying lip service to the aspirations of the people of Palestine and the Arab nation. It is time for Europe to move from verbal declarations to practical steps in order not to lose the confidence of the Arab nation and, in the final analysis, so as not to jeopardise its interests since natural relationships between states are based on the mutuality of common interests and not on the furtherance of the interests of one party.

With all good intentions underlying this confidence, our people understand the true significance of the General Assembly resolution to convene in Western Europe, whose peoples were unaware of the real situation. It was necessary, therefore, for the truth to be brought home to them in order to unmask the mechinations of the government of the United States and to counter the practical consequences of the positions of most of the Western European states, especially the United Kingdom, aimed at preventing the people of Palestine from exercising their inalienable rights in accordance with international legitimacy represented by the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations since 1947.

It is our sincere hope that through this conference the international will, deeply committed to international agreements, declarations and accords, will finally prove capable of achieving a

*continued on page 13*

# CQP SPOTLIGHTS "20TH CENTURY ANACHRONISM" OF PALESTINE

by Hanna Assadi

The United Nations Conference on the Question of Palestine is over. The discussions have ended and the delegates and guests have gone home, among them lawyer and Israeli Communist Party central committee member Felicia Langer. Langer was one of the 15 "eminent persons" — a category of special guests. Others there included Sheli leaders Uri Avneri and Matityahu Peled, ICP MK Tawfiq Toubi and leading international figures, including former Mexican President Luis Ecceuerra and ex-US Congressman Paul McCloskey. Dismissed mayor of Nablus Bassam Shaka'a, another eminent guest, was prevented from attending by occupation authorities.

Langer described attendance at the CQP as "unprecedented and unexpected" and "a blow for those wanting to undermine, minimise, and annul the conference." The 137 attending countries was nearly double the 70 expected — 50 sent representatives at ministerial level. They were joined by 110 non-governmental organisations.

According to Langer there was "unanimity of approach" on the question of Palestinian rights and agreement that there would be no peace without self-determination for the Palestinian people. "I cannot think of another forum in which this view was expressed so clearly and outspokenly," she said.

All speakers at the conference stressed the urgency of the need for a solution to the Palestinian question, Langer explained. "This was emphasised in a very dramatic way by Dr Amal Shama', who treated victims in Lebanon during the air raids and now after the armistice." Langer said that every day of negotiations and delay is measured in human suffering and lives.

Langer described the meeting as a very emotional affair. "Many people blame the world for indifference, but in Geneva between August 29 and September 7 so many influential people . . . expressed the deepest solidarity with the Palestinians and their commitment to the Palestinian cause, and the conviction that there will be no peace without a solution in the spirit of justice.

The conference resolutions, Langer said, deal a blow to those who say, "There's no one to talk to." She said that from all references, including PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's speech, the PLO openly recognises the UN 1947 resolutions for a two-state solution. The clear proviso for all states to exist behind secure borders and the call for an international conference with all parties represented shows that anyone with the approach of recognising others' rights will find negotiating parties. "The rejection front today is Israel," asserts Langer.

Felicia Langer, third from right, at the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine. Also present were Uri Avneri (far left), Matti Peled (back left) and Tawfiq Toubi (left of Langer).

She points out that despite differences in nuance and approach, all Arab states represented at the CQP basically said they would make peace on the basis of withdrawal from the occupied territories. "No one, including the PLO, spoke of their right to exist at the expense of Israel," said Langer.

While the US and Israel boycotted the conference, nationals of both states were there. Langer expressed sorrow that Labour MK Yossi Sarid, *Yesh Gvul* (There Is a Limit) and Peace Now didn't show up, but says their voices were heard.

A wide spectrum of Israeli political peace and human rights groups and Palestinians from inside the 1967 borders were represented. Occupied territories residents were prevented from getting to Geneva. Two young Israeli anti-war individuals came on their own, to the surprise of other delegations. Several of them, including Langer, met Arafat.

Langer believes it was important for the international community to have the opportunity to meet another Israel, "not just Mr (Yehuda) Blum (Israel's man at the UN) who they know so well. They clearly recognised there is someone to talk to in Israel itself."

Langer reports that some people at the conference — especially Arab ambassadors — were stunned to meet Israelis critical of their government.

The Israeli boycott, opines Langer, came about because official policy practices in the occupied territories and in Lebanon were on trial at the conference. They received a heavy indictment. Israel almost made it to the conference — it set up a propaganda stand outside the Palais de Nations. From there they could see Arafat received as a head of state, one year after the war said by them to mark the collapse of the PLO. They held a press conference during the conference in an attempt to staunch the flow of sentiment to the Palestinians.

With the TV lights out and the red carpets rolled, where do we go from here? Langer thinks the conference will have lasting importance in getting the truth out to a public not served by the media. (Some western papers misreported the attendance figures. Langer heard complaints from journalists whose stories were spiked by editors in home offices.)

Also important was the attempt to try and convince representatives of the necessity and inevitability of a solution here; that peace and justice are indivisible and that "World War III could come from this place," says Langer.

Langer described the existence of a people without rights as an "offence to the family of nations" and a "20th century anachronism." She sees a resolution of this anomoly coming out of the conference and especially after contacts with US and Israel public. She summed up the conference as "an achievement in a process — and a long process — to achieve a solution and end the torment of the Palestinian people."

There is little control over the weapons in settler hands/JN

# Where have the guns gone?

by Zvi Barel

An American-made M-16, number 5137796, is somewhere in the country now, but nobody knows where or with whom. Kalashnikov number 2926 is also wandering about. These two guns have something in common. Both are registered in the arms inventory of Kiryat Arba as missing. The last time the missing Kalashnikov was seen was on October 5, 1982. Then it was registered as part of the stock of the arms store but in court a year later the word "missing" appeared in the computer file.

The examination of the computer reports which detail the arms inventory of Kiryat Arba settlers reveals shocking and strange things, which may go towards explaining why the police do not succeed in their investigation, and these things are connected with the settlers. Here are some examples:

*A man by the name of Menahem Beit-Halhame carries — according to the registration — an M-16. Menahem left Kiryat Arba on May 30, 1982, but has not returned his weapon. It is known that he now lives in Atzammon settlement in Petah Tikva;

*Hirshkovitz Avraham, a resident of Rehovot (Tel Aviv), formerly a resident of Kiryat Arba, still holds a weapon which is registered in the stock of Kiryat Arba;

*Luval Avraham, a resident of the Jewish quarter in Jerusalem, signed for a weapon in Kiryat Arba;

*Verdberg Naftali holds an M-16 belonging to Kiryat Arba, yet he lives in Jerusalem;

*Rabhai Yair Urel is signatory, according to the computer's records, to an Uzi. Actually he has an M-16;

*The security coordinator of another settlement in the West Bank is signatory for many guns which belong to Kiryat Arba;

*The head of Kiryat Arba's local council, Shalom Vakh, has signed for two guns in addition to his private pistol. His deputy, Aharon Dumev, signed also for three guns.

Also, according to the registration records, it becomes clear that differences exist between the registration of weapons in the arms store and those actually there. Many settlers did not renew their signatures for the arms as they should have according to the instructions. Now it is difficult to know if these arms are still held by the settlers, or if they were exchanged between people and maybe between settlements.

Recently, an additional odd fact was discovered: when police started to investigate the killings at the Islamic University in Hebron, which, according to testimonies, was carried out with Kalashnikovs, they demanded to examine all the Kalashnikovs in Kiryat Arba. According to the register, in Kiryat Arba there are 195 Kalashnikovs, but in reality there are more than 200 guns. Where do the rest of the guns come from? Nobody can give an official explanation. Unofficially, the settlers say that there are two explanations for the remaining guns: spoils from the invasion of Lebanon, and inaccurate registrations which were fed into the computer as is.

Regarding the war loot — guns were brought to Kiryat Arba, and to other settlements, by residents as souvenirs for "a rainy day" — nobody knows where these arms were concealed and the security forces have never undertaken a thorough search for them.

The inaccurate registration goes back to "ancient times", when the army supplied arms to the settlers of Kiryat Arba for guarding and defence. Since then, the army has been satisfied with signed receipts for each gun provided and it was not checked if exchanges or transfers or losses occurred. Exchanges of arms, and transfers to a repair shop, do not appear in the registration.

At a later stage, the security affairs of Kiryat Arba began to be handled by the settlers themselves, under the supervision of the settlement's commander, appointed by the army. He is in charge of the settlement during emergencies and weapons are under his supervision. In certain cases, the commander did not bother to examine whether the registration fits the situation on the ground.

Not surprisingly, when the police want to examine the weapons of Kiryat Arba's settlers, they cannot be certain that all weapons will be submitted or that every gun which was used in an illegal firing incident was registered at the settlement.

Moreover, there has never been a comprehensive ballistics testing of the guns in Kiryat Arba or any other settlement. Such ballistics tests could also include a check for fingerprints.

**'It is possible to shoot in Ramallah with a weapon belonging to a settlement in the Hebron area or even Rafah.'**

**— an Israeli settler**

Only now, a month after an action was committed, have the police tried to organise such a check of the settlers' Kalashnikovs. This too faces failure: despite the instructions of the commander of the southern part of the West Bank that guns be handed over to the police, only a few guns have been given in. Settlers cling to the pretext that their security coordinator is on army reserve duty and that because all the arms in the settlement are registered in his name, they consider themselves not empowered to hand over the weapons without his approval.

The "mess" in registering the arms is not particular to Kiryat Arba. In other settlements the army and the police know only what has been registered on receipts, and there are discrepancies between the registrations and fact. Several months ago a settler on the West Bank told me that the police cannot possibly check the arms in his settlement — and that even if they try, their efforts will be in vain.

"Suppose we fire in the streets of Ramallah," he said, "and immediately after the operation we change the barrel and stock of the gun so that a ballistics test can only discover the weapon's part and not its owner. We shoot with unregistered arms or switch arms from one settlement to another. It is possible to shoot in Ramallah, with a weapon belonging to a settlement in the Hebron area or even Rafah (Gaza)."

Several months ago some settlers from Kiryat Arba went to the comptroller of the security system, Aluf Meir Zura'n, and brought this subject to his attention. The comptroller instructed the army to examine the facts and this was indeed carried out. The report said that "everything is okay, the settlement is ready for any emergency," and that "it functions as necessary from a security point of view." The discrepancy regarding arms possession was not seriously handled. But it is interesting that after the check, the settlement commander and the security coordinator were changed.

Military sources told me this was a routine examination and that they were changed because they had completed their service. But it is interesting that the timing of the examination and the termination of their service coincided. The former commander continues to serve in the army.

The line "Everything is okay and there are no problems" is still used. Moshe Rosenthal, a resident of Kiryat Arba, continues to be registered for a weapon although he is no longer security coordinator. The new coordinator refused to sign for the weapons before he examined them, in accordance with the law.

The police continue their confusions when they are ordered to examine weapons for the investigation of the attack on Hebron University. Military personnel prefer to say: "This is purely police matter," and it is the police who have to demand the arms and carry out the required examinations. But actually, it is the army which is responsible for the arms and only by its order can the arms be handed over to the police. In fact such an order was given, but nobody thinks of executing it. The army, for its part, does not want to enter into a confrontation with the residents of Kiryat Arba, and the police do not have the courage. And in the meantime, the settlers can continue to shoot with the ownerless weapons. (Translation: HaAretz, September 11, 1983.)

NEWS FROM THE PALESTINIAN LITERARY WORLD

# ACHIEVEMENTS IN CREATIVE WRITING AND PUBLISHING

The PLO Information and Cultural Department, Damascus branch, has issued a new book about plastic folklore. It includes shorts about the life and production of the Palestinian artists. The book also contains shorts about the department itself, which was established in 1979. Ghaleb Halssa said in his introduction: "The Palestinian pains and suffering do not provide the Palestinian artist the opportunity to choose something contrary to expressing these pains and sufferings. He cannot create a certain distinguishing reality apart from pain. The Palestinian plastic arts will continue to depict these pains for a long period. This is the reality of the Palestinian folklore and this is the crisis of the Palestinian artists, who always attempt to reach beyond their pain."

* * *

**After a two-month absence, *Al Fajr al-Adabi*, the monthly cultural magazine, appeared in September with literary criticism, poems, short stories and interviews. Editor-in-chief Ali Khalili wrote the leading articles on social and political literature and criticised overtly political literature and described its motifs as superficial. Khalili said that writers do not write on social themes in their literary work. He said: "It is not true that we totally lack social literature. We are under the occupation's siege, forcing the daily violent challenge. We do not write about the Palestinian house in camp, village and town. We do not write about love. We do not write about a loaf of bread, about wretchedness, sadness, happiness, women, men, children and all classes of our people."**

*Al Carmel*, the Palestinian literary magazine, now in its eighth issue, is published in Cyprus with Mahmoud Darwish as editor. Darwish's editorial article, entitled "Spring of Dictatorship... Autumn of Anger," expresses his solidarity with Egyptian journalist Mohammed Husseini Heikal's autobiography, *The Autumn of Anger*, about Sadat's regime. Many articles, interviews, poems and plays appear in the magazine.

Mahmoud Darwish

The Cultural Committee of the Hebron Polytechnic Institute arranged, last month, an exhibition of the plastic arts in which eight Palestinian artists participated. They were: Kamal Mughani, Nabil Anani, Essam Bader, Adnan Zubeidi, Hashem Clob, Khader Abu Ahmad and Fayez Qawasmi. The exhibition incuded 85 portraits by the artists. Most of the pictures dealt with the Palestinian cause and expressed the suffering of the Palestinian people. Four thousand people visited the exhibition during the three days it was held. The exhibition was considered successful.

* * *

*A Map for Happiness* is the third collection of poetry written by Abd al-Nasser Saleh, from Nablus. It includes the new poems "The Knight Who Was Killed Before the Dual" and "Within the Decisive Moment."

Wehdeh Printing House in Beirut and the Jordanian Writer's League in Amman issued their fourth collection of stories written by the Jordanian novelist Salem Nahas. The book is entitled *Those Years* and includes 14 short stories in its 149 pages. Nahas published *Awraq Aqera (Unfertile Papers)* a novel, *You Madaba*, a collection of short stories, and *Elections*, a play.

* * *

The Arab Studies Institute in Jerusalem and Shurouq Printing House in Ramallah have issued their third collection of poetry by Palestinian poet Ibrahim Nasrallah. It is entitled *The Rain from Inside* and it contains 19 poems in its 103 pages. The poet has previously published *My Body Was the Sifter* and *The Horses in the Suburbs of Town*.

The first issue of *Towards an Encyclopedia of Personalities in Palestine* was published recently by *Al Fajr*. Saleh Mohammed arranged and supervised the volume, which contains shorts about 98 local Palestinian individuals.

* * *

*Social Motifs in the Palestinian Folktale* is a new book written by the Palestinian researcher Jamil Salhout. It was recently published by Al-Kateb Printing House in Jerusalem. It contains 14 series; each deals with one motif and tale. The book is 80 pages long.

* * *

The Popular Cultural Printing House in Sofia recently issued a collection of Palestinian short stories entitled *The Land of Sad Oranges*. The Bulgarian critic Ganka Tukofa "chose the stories, translated them and wrote the introduction" for the volume. The writers chosen include: Ghassan Kanafani, Emil Habibi, Yehia Yakhluf, Rashad Abu Shawar, Hanna Ibrahim, Mahmoud Shuqeir, Jamal Danoura and Mohammed Ali Taha.

Ghassan Kanafani

Emblem of the second national literary festival, sponsored by the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists and held in August of last year.

**The General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists will organise a Palestinian week on culture in London, next month, with cooperation from friendly British organisations and associations. The Palestinian critics and writers will discuss the Palestinian cause and cultural aspects of the Palestinian people, such as their novels, short stories and folklore, as well as holding a poetry forum and hosting exhibitions of pictures from the Lebanon war and displays of books and heritage.**

# WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The civil war in Lebanon and the US Marines' intervention in the fighting on the side of the Phalangist regime continued to be the main news stories in the Palestinian dailies this week. Editorials of all newspapers warned of the similarity between the American interventions in Lebanon and Vietnam. They all reminded the US of its losses in Southeast Asia and its final defeat there.

The anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres was also given prominence on the front pages and in editorials. There was detailed reporting on the demonstrations and commemoration ceremonies held by Palestinians and Israelis on this occasion.

Due the al-Adha feast, daily newspapers were not published for four days.

## Arab Solidarity

It's odd that there has arisen a situation in the Arab world where its leaders talk about Arab solidarity, convene summits, make decisions in its name, yet at the same time that American guns are pointed towards one or more Arab countries, US Vice President George Bush is visiting the Arab world and receiving a great welcome.

Some Arab leaders claim their policy is to influence America's position by appeasing it. But this is an old excuse that does not convince anyone, especially after the thousands of experiences that the Arab people have had and after thousands of stabs in the back that the Arab leaders have received at the hands of Washington's rulers.

Bush did not hesitate to hide this fact when he chose Morocco from which to threaten Syria and the PLO. None of the Moroccan officials objected to these threats or even brought it to Bush's attention to consider Arab protocol.

This incident reaffirms our conviction that Arab reactionary leaders are in total alliance with American strategy and prefer it over the people's interests.

Jordan's leaders, who were also blinded by Washington, did not dare to abstain in the recent UN Security Council vote on the South Korean plane incident.

This situation exposes the reality of the relationship of dependancy. America can challage Arab national feelings, support the establishment of Israeli settlements on Arab land and use its army to threaten Arab countries. On the other hand, its dependant states do not dare to even express solidarity with Syria, the Lebanese nationalists, the PLO, or even abstain from supporting an American resolution against a friendly nation.

These realities indicate to the Palestinians that such leaders cannot be trusted and any peace proposals they offer will be primarily to serve the interest of imperialist America.

AL TALIA
September 15

## The American Game

The US, increasing its military involvement in Lebanon, is not showing any concern that a third world war may begin in this already exhausted Arab country. The recent Pentagon orders to the Marines in Beirut and its navy in the Mediterranean is a clear indication of this lack of concern. Consider the following important points:

— the war in Lebanon is a purely internal conflict;

— the present regime in Lebanon is illegitimate and is still held together under the protection of the multinational forces, particularly the Americans;

— the Israeli occupation of Lebanon since June 1982 created new problems not only in Lebanon but also in the Arab world in general;

— the failure of the different American envoys to this region to bring about American solutions is clear.

The American involvement can only be seen from one angle — the US is taking on risks in this region with total disregard for what may result.

Washington undoubtedly knows that Lebanon is as close to Syria and the other Arab nations as the arteries are to the heart. Washington also realises the importance of this region to many countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Would it not be right to assume, then, that increased American involvement may set the stage for a third world war?

Maybe the US wants to make Lebanon another Vietnam to subdue the Lebanese and all Arabs. But this is only a dream that will vanish like others before it, defeated by the strong will of the people.

AL FAJR
September 15

## The Portioning Of Lebanon

US President Ronald Reagan has once more reiterated the standard US line: complete and unconditional support for Israel and uncompromising hostility towards the Palestinians.

There was no need for him to repeat that hackneyed line — there is ample daily evidence of where his sympathies and antipathies lie, particularly on the Lebanese battleground.

All signs indicate that there is a great possibility of a widespread assault against Palestinian, Syrian and nationalist Lebanese forces in that embattled country.

The ominous threats posed, personified in the form of the US naval forces, planes, and its Marine contingent, bear testimony to the "cowboy" mentality of Reagan, who pictures himself as a lawman obsessed with the mission of shooting down the bad guys in Central America, Lebanon and Chad.

The success of this policy, which seeks to impose American supremacy over our region, depends on a philosophy of "divide and conquer". It can only succeed if Lebanon is partitioned.

The danger of such a devastating truncation is only too real. But are the Arab leaders heeding the sounds of the distant drums?

AL QUDS
September 16

## Involvement and Humiliation

Following the open involvement of the US forces in Lebanon to prevent Souq al-Gharb falling to the progressive forces, it was revealed that the fascist authority agreed, through Saudi mediation, to a compromise. The Lebanese government agreed to negotiate with the National Salvation Front and to delay deployment of the sectarian army in the Shouf mountains until after international forces separate the warring parties.

In spite of this Phalange compromise — which came after the latest clashes in Lebanon and brought more destruction and massacres, uncovering the ugly aims of the multinational forces through their involvement — we reaffirm our previous position that this regime which was brought to power by the gun cannot be democratic and cannot work for the welfare of the Lebanese people. This regime is simply an ally to all those forces which were the cause of its tragedies.

Reconciliation with this regime means acknowledgement of its legitimate power to rule over Lebanon.

Therefore, while there is still a chance, the Lebanese people should oust this regime which used all kinds of weapons against its own people, including air bombardment with cluster, phosporous and napalm bombs.

All nationalist forces should stand strong against this regime to win the war and teach American imperialism an important lesson, as it seems to have forgotten the Vietnam lesson.

Walid Jumblatt took the right step when he announced he is going to allow alliances between the nationalist forces and the Palestinians, Syrian army and all friends of the Nationalist Salvation Front.

AL MITHAQ
September 21

## The US Will Fail

Israeli public opinion is watching events in Lebanon apprehensively, particularly in the wake of the increasing tension as a result of direct American military intervention in the fighting there.

What worries us more here is the possibility of a resumption of Israeli military involvement, alongside the US forces and the Phalangists, after our relief that the Israeli army had withdrawn from the Shouf.

Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens recently renewed the Israeli threat to hit at the PLO everywhere and Israel has made no secret of its intention to intervene and use its air force to strike at the socialist progressive and other nationalist forces, should the Gemayel regime be endangered.

In the event of such an intervention, the Israeli Druze communtiy will be faced with a dilemma: they will have to choose between joining Walid Jumblatt's forces, or the invading Israeli army.

The Israeli government has been taken by surprise at the show of Druze muscle in the fighting, and the cooperation between the Druze and the PLO.

Israel's leaders have woven a net of lies and intrigues, in cahoots with the US administration, but the world is seeing through it all. The US charges that Arafat's presence in Tripoli is in violation of the PLO–Lebanese accord, forgetting that it was the US itself that violated the accord when it allowed Israeli troops to invade West Beirut, and pave the way for the Sabra and Shatila massacre, despite pledges that it would protect Palestinian refugees after the withdrawal of the PLO.

The continued US intervention in Lebanon could very easily spark a major confrontation, that could draw in Israel on the side of the Phalangists, and the Soviet Union on the side of the nationalist forces. The outcome can only be described as catastrophic.

The deterioration in Lebanon can be directly attributable to the US and its ally, Israel, which believe that they can impose their will on the people of the region. But just as the US failed in subjugating Vietnam, it will fail in subjugating Lebanon and the Arabs.

AL ITTIHAD
September 21

# AL AQSA ATTACKERS FREED

Yisrael Ariel

The Israeli district court in Jerusalem dismissed charges against 29 ultra-religious Jewish settlers, September 19, of plotting to foment intercommunal hatred by entering al-Aqsa Mosque last March. Despite the fact that the settlers were found in possession of digging tools and weapons, the court said they found "insufficient evidence to support the charges."

The 29 settlers were part of a group of nearly 46 settlers who tried to force their way into the Muslim holy shrine on the morning of March 11. The group were chased away by mosque guards, policemen and Israeli border guards. Many were later arrested at the house of Rabbi Yisrael Ariel, a leader in the extreme right Kach movement.

According to the charge sheet, the settlers were accused of plotting to arouse hatred and strife between Arabs and Jews, attempting to enter a religious site without permission, injuring Muslim feelings and provoking the custodians of the religious site.

Twenty settlers were acquitted of charges of attempting to pray because of lack of evidence. Seven more, who are believed to have been found carrying automatic weapons, were acquitted on the grounds that there was no proof that they had intended to pray inside the mosque. The remaining two, in possession of digging tools, were also acquitted on the pretext that there was no evidence proving they had planned to dig under the mosque.

Hassan Tahboub, director of the Islamic *waqf* in the West Bank, told *Al Fajr* that the police and the court had not notified them of the time of the court hearing. He explained that the head of the Higher Islamic Council, Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami, was first called to testify against the settlers. Later, he was told his testimony was not necessary.

Tahboub said that the fact that the settlers were acquitted of trying to break into al-Aqsa would encourage more attacks against the holy site: "Most of those who attacked the mosque were described (at the time) as mentally incompetent and now attackers are acquitted on the pretext that there is not enough evidence to convict them." Tahboub warned against the "concealed intentions" of settlers against Muslim religious sites.

At the time of the raid, *waqf* officials said they believed the settlers were trying to reopen a tunnel under the mosque which was closed by the Islamic trustees after it was discovered last year.

*Al Hamishmar* Hebrew daily reported that 10 of the detained settlers were serving soldiers. The paper further reported that the police had prior knowledge of the settlers' intentions and had been watching them, hence making quick arrests.

Several months ago, the Israeli High Court issued an order allowing settlers to pray near Bab al-Magharbeh at the entrance to the Muslim shrine.

# REFUSNIK GETS JAIL

Michael Warshawsky, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist League and a leading activist in the Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University and the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, was sentenced to 28 days in military jail, September 19, by a disciplinary tribunal. He is refusing to do any reserve duty in Lebanon.

Warshawsky, 34, has been served with new call-up papers to take effect on his release. Over 70 Israeli soldiers have served sentences for refusing duty in Lebanon.

## Harassment Complaint Ignored

Israeli deputy legal advisor Yehudit Karp was questioned, September 20, on why she has not yet answered a complaint of harassment made three years ago by a Nablus area resident, Ahmad Khalil Ja'as.

Ja'as filed a complaint against a settler from Karni Shomron settlement who tried to take over Ja'as' land "through pressure, forgery and other means."

The query was made in the form of a letter from Ja'as' lawyer, Felicia Langer, who explained that Ahmad Ja'as approached the police in October 1980. "We pursued the case with the police, but until today we have heard nothing about this case."

*continued from page 9*

# ARAFAT'S ADDRESS

break-through in the search for practical means to secure the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights. This means that in your resolutions you must take care to affirm the rights of the Palestinian people, specifying the means for their recovery and exercise.

In this context, we wish to suggest to you the following ideas:

I.) The Middle East is a very important and vital region with regard to the establishment of peace since it has a direct effect on the international situation as a whole. Consequently, that region must remain free from the monopoly of any one power in the world and free from balkanisation and the threat of internal and external explosion;

II.) The question of Palestine originated and developed as a result of international conflicts before and after the First and Second World Wars and international political complications deriving from the changing and conflicting positions and balances of power in the world. Hence, the responsibility for the recovery of the rights of the Palestinian people is a wholly international responsibility within the framework of international legitimacy.

III.) The Fez Summit resolutions constitute a unique opportunity for the achievement of the minimum degree of justice required. This opportunity for peace in the region, presented jointly by the Arab leaders at the Summit Conference, should not be wasted.

IV.) The exercise by the people of Palestine of their right of return, self-determination and national independence is the only basis for any peace based on justice in the Middle East.

V.) Failure to deter the Zionist military aggressive mentality and the continuation of unlimited United States support for this barbaric military machine contradict any advocacy of international peace.

VI.) In the light of these principles we are struggling for peace and reject the American-Israeli policies calling upon us to capitulate.

VII.) In the light of these principles, we welcome all peace initiatives based on the recognition of the rights of our people. We are ready to cooperate with all forces, and primarily the United Nations and its agencies, within the framework of international legitimacy and their resolutions concerning the question of Palestine. In this connection, we are calling for an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, in which the two superpowers would participate with the rest of the parties concerned, on the basis of the United Nations resolutions relating to the question of Palestine.

Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the savage massacres and the destruction inflicted on the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples as a result of this Zionist-American invasion, it became clear to the international community that there is a need for a conscientious stand to alleviate the sufferings of the Palestinian people and to assist them to return to their homeland. The world has realised that the people of Palestine, whether fighters or civilians, are devoted to their just objectives and worthy of regaining their rights. Their existence cannot be ignored. We, with others, including many present at this conference, were surprised by the declarations of the President of the United States urging the Arabs to withdraw their recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. In another statement, the United States Secretary of State Shultz expressed his administration's satisfaction at the current attempts taking place in the Beqa'a to dominate the PLO and to circumscribe its decision-making process. He also claimed that following the departure of its military forces from Beirut the PLO no longer played a political role.

It is evident that such statements are a continuation of the aggressive American-Israeli policies which are an extension of their hostile attitude towards the Palestinian people and their rights. These statements unmask the persistence of their hostile policies of ignoring not only the rights of the Palestinian people, which were recognised by international legitimacy, but also the PLO, the leader of their just struggle. Our valiant people formed a protective shield, however, through the commitment of their masses and their adherence to the PLO and its leadership. They rose angrily and forcefully in a spirit of firm determination and total unity, rejecting any attempt to circumscribe or usurp their independent national decision-making process, or to ignore the free will, in defence of the future of their children and their coming generations and their right to live in dignity and freedom in their free and independent land.

Our people, who have been struggling for the last 60 years against British colonialism, American hegemony and Zionist aggression and occupation thereby reaffirm their will and increasing resolve to regain their national rights despite all sacrifices and to once again assume their human role in the making of human civilisation.

Our people, who are fighting with pens and stones, with guns and olive branches, with their children, youth and women, with their minds, consciences and human aims, are still maintaining their unity and their revolution despite all their sufferings from oppression, terrorism and dispersion. They therefore deserve your support and solidarity and every resolution and action in furtherance of a just peace and their right to live a life of dignity in their homeland.

On this occasion I feel that reference should be made to the democratic and progressive Jewish forces in and outside Israel who have condemned war, comdemned the invasion, condemned the massacres of Sabra and Shatila and condemned expansionist policies and who are firmly advocating the rights of our people. I convey to them my greetings and appreciation for their courageous stand, especially in the face of the terror of the Israeli military authorities. Let us realise, together, our dream of an exemplary peace in the land of peace, to be offered as a gift from us all to human civilisation. Let us cooperate side by side with all noble-minded, peace, justice and freedom-loving forces the world over.

In his famous interview in 1978, Brzezinski said 'Bye bye, PLO.' Many of his predecessors and successors have thought that the PLO was finished. Then came the war in Lebanon and the siege of Beirut during which the Begin government deployed most of the Israeli naval, land and air forces and used the most modern American weaponry, including those internationally prohibited, with unlimited American backing and approval. The aim was to destroy the PLO and to liquidate its infrastructure. They failed to achieve that aim.

Despite the continuation of conspiracies in and outside our occupied land, events during the last decade have proved that all schemes and plots against our just cause were doomed to failure and incapable of liquidating our people's revolution and the PLO, the leader of their struggle, in the face of the will of our people and their sacrifices and resolve to continue the march until victory.

All freedom-loving and noble-minded people the world over may rest assured that our people will remain loyal to their common principles and values in their just struggle against injustice and oppression, against colonialism, Zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination. Despite all the conspiracies to which they are exposed and despite all their sufferings and bloodshed our people will continue to stand together with the freedom-loving and struggling peoples in Namibia, South Africa, Asia and Latin America. All of these conspiracies will inevitably be crushed on the rock of this great international solidarity with our people and their just struggle.

In all liberation battles, the struggle for the last 10 metres is always, in policy and in war, the most difficult of all struggles and that for which the hardest and most ferocious battles are fought. We are now fighting the battle of the last 10 metres towards victory in order to hoist the banner of our people over Jerusalem, the capitol of our free state.

Together until liberation and victory.

Thank you.

# US TOUGHENS COMMITMENT TO GEMAYEL

On the recommendation of the US Middle East envoy Robert McFarlane, a meeting was held in the White House over the September 10 weekend to formulate a policy for the US forces present in Lebanon. McFarlane recommended that the US escalate its firepower in Lebanon, not only to defend the Marines, but also to impress Arab friends that the US is a tough and reliable ally. Perhaps those friends of the US government encouraged the McFarlane request to toughen up against Syria and others fighting the Phalange government.

As of September 13, Reagan has authorised Marines to call in greater fire power from the US carriers offshore in a variety of circumstances. According to deputy spokesperson of the State Department Allen Romberg, airstrikes or gunboat salvos can now be ordered directly by the Marine commander if the Marines are threatened, if the Lebanese army in positions near theirs are under fire or if other elements in the multinational forces are threatened or attacked. Romberg avoided an *Al Fajr* question as to why the Marines did not just move away from Lebanese army positions if they did not want to get dragged into the fighting.

These new orders mark a definite escalation in the US role and the US government commitment to Gemayel, as well as being a warning to Syria.

However, having called the fighting in Lebanon a "civil war," Reagan is taking the unusual step of involving his government in an internal problem of Lebanon. Arab governments have in the past set precedents in allowing the US and others to take internationally unacceptable steps and this is another one of those. The Lebanese government and Gemayel's wife, it was reported Setpember 13, called the US ambassador in Beirut to protest Reagan calling the fighting a civil war.

With the return of Congress, a debate may begin on Reagan's policy in Lebanon and the Middle East, but most observers believe Congress will go along with Reagan. What Congress wants is basically to uphold the law, they say, and to have Reagan consult them. Congress cannot accept the White House argument that the US Marines in Lebanon are not facing hostilities or imminent hostilities, especially when five have died and the Pentagon is paying combat salaries.

Congress, however, wants Gemayel's government to survive seeing the adversary as Syria and PLO-supported, lumping them all together into what is now known here as the "Muslim leftist militias." With this in mind, the US role has been to supplement Israeli objectives, and no doubt the foremost task of the US Marines in Lebanon is to do precisely that.

# SHATILA

*continued from page 16*

blocked the way, the heel of a corpse lying on its back, near two other corpses of men lying down, all of them resting on another carpet of spent shells. I nearly fell several times because of them.

At the back of the room another door was open, without lock or latch. I stepped over the bodies as one crosses chasms. The room contained the corpses of four men, piled on top of each other on a single bed, as if they had been caught in a decaying orgiastic copulation. This pile of shields smelled strongly, but it didn't smell bad. The smell and the flies had, so it seemed, gotten used to me. I no longer disturbed anything in these ruins, in this quiet.

During the night from Thursday to Friday, and during those from Friday to Saturday and Saturday to Sunday no one had kept vigil with them, I thought.

Yet, it seemed to me that someone had visited these dead men before me and after their death. The three young men were waiting fairly far from the house with handkerchiefs over their noses.

Over the last three months, hands have had a double function: during the day to grasp and touch, at night, to see. Electricity cuts made this "school for the blind" necessary, as it did the climbing, two or three times a day, of that white marble cliff, the eight-floor stairway. We had to fill all the containers in the house with water. The telephone was cut off when the Israeli soldiers entered West Beirut along with their Hebrew inscriptions. So were the roads around Beirut. The Merkava tanks which never stopped showed they were keeping an eye on the whole city, and at the same time one imagined those inside scared they would become a fixed target. They no doubt feared the activity of the Murabitioun (a Nasserite group in the pro-Palestinain Lebanese National Movement — ed.) and the *fedayeen* who might remain in sections of West Beirut.

The day after the entrance of the Israeli army we were prisoners, but it seemed to me that the invaders were less feared than despised, they caused less fear than disgust. No soldiers was laughing or smiling. No one was throwing rice or flowers.

Since the roads had been cut off and the telephone was silent, deprived of contact with the rest of the world, for the first time in my life, I felt myself become Palestinian and hate Israel.

"We are linked to Israel by many currents which bring us bombs, tanks, soldiers, fruit, vegetables; they carry off our soldiers, our children to Palestine, in a continual and unceasing coming and going, because according to them, we have been linked to them since Abraham, in his lineage, in his language, in the same origins..." (A Palestinian *fedai*).

"In short," he adds, "they invade us, they stuff us, suffocate us and would like to hug us. They say they are our cousins. They're very sad to see us turn away from them. They must be furious with us and with themselves."

n West Beirut, after the Israelis arrived, S. told me: "Night had fallen; it must have been seven o'clock. All of a sudden there was a loud clank, clank, clank. Everybody, my sister, my brother-in-law and I ran out on the balcony. The night was very dark. And every once in a while there was something like lightning less than a hundred yards away. You know that almost across from us there is a kind of Israeli command post: four tanks, a house occupied by soldiers, officers and guards. Night. And the clanking noise is getting closer. The lightning; a few lit torches. And forty or fifty kids about twelve or thirteen years old beating rhythmically on little jerry-cans, either with rocks or hammers or something else. They were screaming, chanting: *La ilah illa Allah, la* Kataeb *wa la yahoud* (There is no god but Allah; no to the *Kataeb*; no to the Jews.)"

H. said to me: "We blame Israel for the massacres in Shatila and Sabra. Don't only blame the *Kataeb* who replaced them. Israel is guilty of allowing two companies of *Kataeb* to enter the camps, of giving them orders and of encouraging them for three days and nights, of bringing them food and drink, of lighting the camps at night"

In the camps, after twenty years in exile, the refugees dreamed of their Palestine, and no one dared to think or say that Israel had destroyed it from top to bottom, that where the barley field had been there was a bank, and a power station where a climbing vine had grown.

Anyone who denies that men can become fond and proud of their obvious destitution understands nothing of the human heart; they can be proud because this obvious destitution veils a hidden glory.

"What can we say to their families who left with Arafat, trusting in the promises of Reagan, Mitterrand and Perini, who had assured them that the civilian population of the camps would be safe? How can we explain that we allowed children, old people and women to be massacred, and that we are abandoning their bodies without prayers? How can we tell them that we don't know where they are buried?"

The massacres did not take place in silence and darkness. Lit by Israeli flares, the Israelis were listening to Shatila as early as Thursday evening. What partying, what feasting went on there as death seemed to take part in the pranks of soldiers drunk on wine, on hatred, and probably drunk on the joy of entertaining the Israeli army which was listening, looking, giving encouragement, egging them on. I didn't see this Israeli army listening and watching. I saw what it did.

You have to know that the Palestinian camps of Shatila and Sabra are made up of miles and miles of narrow little alleys — for here, even the alleys are so skinny, so thread-like that sometimes two people cannot walk together unless one walks sideways — strewn with rubbish, cement blocks, bricks, dirty multi-coloured rags, and that at night, under the light of the Israeli flares which lit up the camps, fifteen or twenty men, even well-armed fighters, would have been unable to carry out this slaughter. The killers worked and they were numerous, and probably accompanied by torture squads who split the skulls, slashed thighs, cut off arms, hands and fingers, and dragged the dying at the end of a rope.

I must conclude my description of Shatila, which was briefly interrupted. Here are the bodies I saw last, on Sunday, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the International Red Cross came in with its bulldozers.

I stepped over one corpse, then another. There in the dust, in the space between the two bodies, there was at last a very living object, intact in the carnage, a translucent pink object which could still be used: an artificial leg, apparently in plastic, and wearing a black shoe and a gray sock. As I looked closer, it became clear that it had been brutally wrenched off the amputated leg, because the straps that usually held it to the thigh were all broken.

This artificial leg belonged to the second body, the one on which I had noticed only one leg with a foot wearing a black shoe and a gray sock.

In the street perpendicular to the one where I left the three bodies, there was another. It was not completely blocking the way, but it was lying at the entrance of the street so that I had to walk by it and turn around to see the sight: seated on a chair, surrounded by fairly young and silent men and women, a woman — in Arab dress — was sobbing; she could have been sixteen or sixty. She was crying over her brother whose body almost blocked the way. I came closer to her. I looked more carefully. She had a scarf tied around her neck. She was crying, mourning the death of her brother next to her. Her face was pink, a baby pink, the same colour all over, very soft, tender, but without eyelashes or eyebrows, and what I thought was pink was not the top layer of skin but an under layer edged in gray skin. Her whole face was burned. I don't know by what, but I understood by whom.

Many died in Shatila, and my friendship, my affection for their rotting corpses was also immense, because I had known them. Blackened, swollen, decayed by the sun and by death, they were still *fedayeen*.

Around two o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday three soldiers from the Lebanese army drove me, at gunpoint, to a jeep where an officer was dozing. I asked him:

"Do you speak French?"

"English."

The voice was dry, maybe because I had awakened it with a start. He looked at my passport, and said to me, in French: "Have you just been there?"

He pointed to Shatila.

"Yes."

"And did you see?"

"Yes."

"Are you going to write about it?"

"Yes."

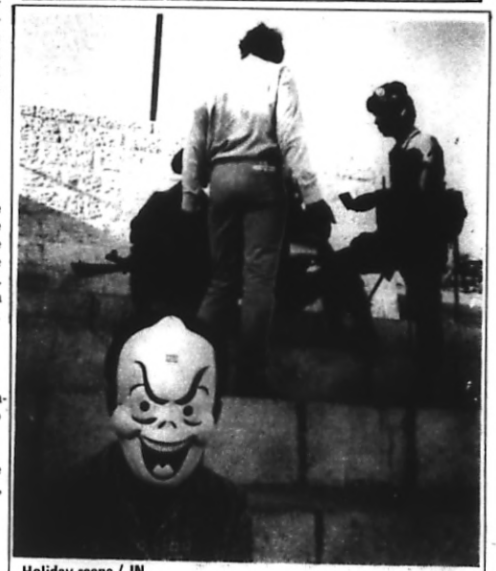
He gave me back my passport. He signalled me to leave. The three rifles were lowered. I had spent four hours in Shatila. About forty bodies remained in my memory. All of them — and I mean all — had been tortured, probably against a backdrop of drunkenness, song, laughter, the smell of gunpowder and already of decaying flesh.

I was probably alone, I mean the only European (with a few old Palestinian women still clinging to a torn white cloth; with a few young unarmed *fedayeen*), but if these five or six human beings had not been there and I had discovered this butchered city, black and swollen Palestinians lying there, I would have gone crazy. Or did I? That city lying in smithereens which I say or thought I saw, which I walked through, felt, and whose death stench I wore, had all that taken place? I had explored, and poorly at that, only a twentieth of Shatila and Sabra, nothing of Bir Hassan, nothing of Burj al-Barajneh.

At the Damascus airport on my way back from Beirut I met some young *fedayeen* who had escaped from the Israeli hell. They were sixteen or seventeen. They were laughing; they were like the ones in Ajloun. They will die like them. The struggle for a country can fill a very rich life, but a short one. That was the choice, as we recall, of Achilles in the *Illiad*. (Excerpted from The Journal of Palestine Studies, Spring 1983; Translated by Daniel R. Dupecher and Martha Perrigaud).

# WEEKLY REVIEW

*Due to* Id al-Adha *feast, all Arabic newspapers were closed from Saturday September 17 until Tuesday September 20. Consequently, we are not publishing news summaries from the intervening days.*



Holiday scene / JN

**September 14, 1983**

### TRAVEL OK

JERICHO — The Jordanian authorities, reversing their previous stand, permitted West Bank Arabs born between 1958 and 1966 to cross the Jordan River bridges to Amman on their way to their places of employment abroad. The measure applies only to West Bank Arabs who are domiciled abroad.

The travellers must prove that they are in possession of valid visas and work contracts.

### FIGHTER ON TRIAL

HAIFA — An Arab Druze resident of the Galilee village of Yarka will face trial here on charges of having joined the ranks of the Lebanese Socialist Party forces and of having fought against the Phalangists.

Radwan Atallah's trial, scheduled for today, was adjourned to an unspecified date.

Atallah was arrested two months ago.

### HOUSE ARREST AGAIN

JERUSALEM — Jamil Othman Nasser, a lawyer from Jericho, has been ordered to remain under house-arrest for a further six months. The Israeli authorities extended Nasser's detention and ordered him to report to the Jericho police station twice a day.

### MAYOR CAN'T LEAVE

ANABTA — The Israeli authorities imposed a further six-month house-arrest order on the ousted mayor of Anabta, Wahid Hamdallah. This is the sixth time the house-arrest order on Hamdallah has been extended.

### ANABTA AIDS

JERUSALEM — The Anabta Youth Committee for Social Work distributed clothes parcels to nearly 300 individuals on the occasion of *Id al-Adha* after a campaign to collect new winter clothing for 50 needy families.

### MUNICIPAL

HEBRON — A three-man delegation, composed of the acting mayor of Halhoul, Hijazi Madiyyeh, and two other members of the municipal council, left for Amman to seek permission to bring development funds into the West Bank.

Among the projects currently on the drawing board are: building a new town hall and several schools, setting up a central fruit and vegtable market and laying roads.

### ONE PHONE

NABLUS — Residents of the Balata Palestinian refugee camp near Nablus have asked the communications department of the military administration to link the camp to the new Nablus automatic telephone exchange.

Residents complain that there is only one telephone for the 11,000 camp residents and it is an antiquated manual model.

### BOOKS OUT

NAZARETH — The *Abna al-Balad* movement held a Palestinian book exhibition in the Galilee village of Kufr Kanna. The five-day exhibition featured books and cassettes on political and social aspects of the Palestinian people.

### MAROONED

JERICHO — Dozens of residents of West Bank villages have been marooned in Jordan, following the refusal of the Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian Embassies to renew their residency permits.

They had arrived in the West Bank on their annual summer holidays, but had been prevented from returning to their places of work following a ban imposed on their travel movements by the Israeli authorities.

### TRAVEL BAN

GAZA — Israeli authorities sent back all residents of Gaza City and Deir al-Balah at border and bridge points to Jordan and Egypt.

### TEENAGERS JAILED

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah military court jailed five Arab teenagers convicted of stone-throwing.

* Mazen Atiyeh - nine months jail, plus a 15-month suspended sentence
* Mu'tasem Sirhan - three months jail.
* Jamal Atiyeh - six months jail, plus a 6-month suspended sentence.
* Nidal Mahmoud - two months jail.
* Ali Wajih Khalil - two months jail.

All the youths are residents of Beit Jala. Their ages range from 16 to 17.

**September 15, 1983**

### KIDS THROW STONES

NAZARETH — A vehicle was stoned as it passed through the Galilee village of Kufr Kanna. Police arrived seconds after the incident and arrested five elementary school students.

They were detained for several hours.

### MARCH IN GALILEE

SAKHNIN — More than 5000 students from the Galilee village of Sakhnin staged a march demanding the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. They also denounced massacres being perpetrated against members of the Druze sect in Lebanon.

**September 16, 1983**

### BOMB

JERUSALEM — Israeli police sappers defused an explosive device planted near the entrance to the ultra-religious Shaare Tzedek Hospital in Jerusalem. The bomb was discovered by a police patrol on its way to work.

### ARSON

NABLUS — Unidentified arsonists set fire to a bus belonging to the Maythaloun Bus Company.

The bus, which serves the Maythaloun Jenin-Nablus route, was completely gutted.

### REFUGEE SHOT

NABLUS — A 35-year-old resident of the Palestinian refugee camp of Balata, near Nablus, Nabil Darwish, was rushed to hospital after being wounded in an armed attack. Reports said Darwish was shot by unidentified assailants.

### JAILED FOR FLAG-BURYING

JERUSALEM — A British kibbutz volunteer has been sentenced to two months in prison, or ordered to pay a IS10,000 fine, after being convicted of burying an Israeli flag.He opted for jail because he was unable to pay the fine.

### BLACKLIST IN NAZARETH SETTLEMENT

NAZARETH — The newly organised "Defenders of Upper Nazareth," a racist organisation, set up to stop Palestinians moving into the predominantly Jewish neighbourhood, said it plans to publish a blacklist of all Jewish residents who sold flats to Arabs.

Reports said the list will include the name of Menahem Ariev, the mayor of Upper Nazareth and one of the first to sell.

### 15 YEARS

NAZARETH — The Lod military court has sentenced Jamal al-Din Tawfiz, a resident of Shafa 'Amr, to 15 years in prison following conviction on membership charges.

### SCOUTS ABSENT

JERUSALEM — The Young Men's Muslim Association announced it has cancelled its traditional annual scouts parade through the streets of Jerusalem, as a sign of mourning, on the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre.

Instead of the parade, the YMMA will lay wreaths at the tomb of the martyrs.

### DOCUMENTS SLOW-DOWN

HEBRON — Parents of newborn children in Hebron complain that they have to wait months before being issued birth certificates, a process that should normally take a few days.

**September 20, 1983**

### EGYPT SHUT

GAZA — Israeli and Egyptian border officials have been turning back large numbers of Gaza residents without any explanation. In the past three days, the Israeli authorities prevented most of the Gazans who had queued at the Rafah crossing point from completing their journey. Travellers note that the "campaign" against Gaza Strip residents picked up speed in the past few weeks.

### GUEST WORKERS

HEBRON — The Israeli military government has banned all residents of Hebron and its regions from travelling to Jordan. Reports said that border officials turned back all Hebronites attempting to make the river crossing in the past two days. Most of the travellers are workers employed in the Gulf or other Arab states.

Some observers have linked the Israeli measure to the grenade-throwing incident in which three members of the Shayukhi family were wounded last week. The curfew on Hebron imposed shortly after the incident was lifted at midnight.

### GIRL MURDERED

NABLUS — Police report that the battered corpse of a 19-year-old girl has been discovered in an olive grove in Rafidiya, near Nablus. She has not been identified yet. Police say preliminary investigations revealed that death had been caused by severe blows on the head and body.

### ID PROBLEMS

GAZA — More than 700 residents of the Gaza Strip have still not been issued with identity cards and are being denied basic rights available to all other residents. Some of the people involved have been contemplating appealing to the Supreme Court of Israel to resolve the issue.

The group includes Gaza residents and Palestinian refugees who settled in the northern regions of the Sinai, after the 1948 war. When Egypt regained the Sinai, following the peace accord with Israel, it drove these residents out because they were not Egyptians. At the same time, Israel refused to grant them any identity papers, leaving them to fend for themselves.

### MARCH TO BIR'IM

HAIFA — "The Return" movement, comprising former residents of Bir'im announced its intention to stage a massive march on their former hometown this Saturday. The movement has called on democratic national Jewish and Arab organisations to participate in the march.

### BOMB

KFUR QARA — Abdel-Karim Mohammed Isma'il discovered a bomb in the village. He immediately called the police who were able to retrieve the device with the help of a robot and carry it away to a field where they exploded it harmlessly.

One of the police sappers noted that had the bomb exploded in the street it would have levelled the nearby houses.

# FOUR HOURS IN SHATILA

## by Jean Genet

No one, nothing, no narrative technique, can put into words the six months, and especially the first weeks, which the *fedayeen* spent in the mountains of Jerash and Ajloun in Jordan. As for relating the events, establishing the successes and failures of the PLO, that has been done by others. The feeling in the air, the colour of the sky, of the earth, of the trees, these can be told; but never the faint intoxication, the lightness of footsteps barely touching the earth, the sparkle in the eyes, the openess of relationships not only between the *fedyeen* but also between them and their leaders. Under the trees, everything, everyone was aquiver, laughing, filled with wonder at this life, so new for all, and in these vibrations there was something strangely immoveable, watchful, reserved, protected like someone praying. Everything belonged to everyone. Everyone was alone in himself. And perhaps not. In the end, smiling and haggard.

The area in Jordan where they had withdrawn for political reasons extended from the Syrian border to Salt, and was bounded by the Jordan River and the road from Jerash to Irbid. About 60 kilometres long and 20 deep, this mountainous area was covered with holm oaks, little Jordanian villages and sparse crops. Under the trees and the camouflaged tents the *fedayeen* had set up combat units and emplaced light and semi-heavy arms. The artillery in place, directed mainly against possible Jordanian operations, young soldiers would take care of their weapons, disassemble them to clean and grease them, then reassemble them quickly. Some managed this feat of disassembling and reassembling their weapons blindfolded so they could do it at night. Between each soldier and his weapon a loving, magical bond had developed. Since the *fedayeen* had only recently left adolescence behind, the rifle, as a weapon, was the sign of triumphant virility and gave assurance of being. Aggressiveness disappeared: teeth showed behind the smile.

The rest of the time, the *fedayeen* drank tea, criticised their leaders and the rich, Palestinian and others, insulted Israel, and above all they talked about the revolution, the one they were involved in and the one they were about to enter upon.

For me, the word "Palestinians", whether in a headline, in the body of an article, on a handout, immediately calls to mind *fedayeen* in a specific spot — Jordan — and at an easily determined date: October, November, December 1970, January, February, March, April 1971. It was then and there that I discovered the Palestinian Revolution. The extraordinary evidence of what was happening, the intensity of this joy at being alive is also called beauty.

Ten years went by, and I heard nothing about them, except that the *fedayeen* were in Lebanon. The European press spoke off-handedly, even disdainfully, about the Palestinian people. Then suddenly, West Beirut.

* * *

A photograph has two dimensions, so does a television screen; neither can be walked through. From one wall of the street to the other, bent or arched, with their feet pushing against one wall and their heads pressing against the other, the black and bloated corpses that I had to step over were all Palestinian and Lebanese. For me, as for what remained of the population, walking through Shatila and Sabra resembled a game of hopscotch. Sometimes a dead child blocked the streets: they were so small, so narrow, and the dead so numerous. The smell is probably familiar to old people; it didn't bother me. But there were so many flies. If I lifted the handkerchief or the Arab newspaper placed over a head, I disturbed them. Infuriated by my action, they swarmed onto the back of my hand and tried to feed there. The first corpse I saw was that of a man 50 or 60 years old. He would have had a shock of white hair if the wound (an axe blow, it seemed to me) hadn't split his skull. He was lying in a little alley immediately to the right of the entry to Shatila camp which is across from the Kuwaiti Embassy. Did the Shatila massacre take place in hushed tones or in total silence, if the Israelis, both soldiers and officers, claim to have heard nothing, to have suspected nothing, whereas they had been occupying this building since Wednesday afternoon?

**What was the torturer like? The only shape he will ever have is the one formed by the stances, positions and grotesque gestures of the dead...**

A photograph doesn't show the flies nor the thick white smell of death. Neither does it show how you must jump over bodies as you walk along from one corpse to the next. If you look closely at a corpse, an odd phenomenon occurs: the absence of life in this body corresponds to the total absence of the body, or rather to its continuous backing away. You feel that even by coming closer you can never touch it. That happens when you look at it carefully. But should you make a move in its direction, get down next to it, move an arm or a finger, suddenly it is very much there and almost friendly.

Love and death. These two words are quickly associated when one of them is written down. I had to go to Shatila to understand the obscenity of love and the obscenity of death. In both cases the body has nothing more to hide: positions, contortions, gestures, signs, even silences belong to one world and to the other. The body of a man of thirty to thirty-five was lying face down. The only part of the face that I could see was purple and black. Slightly above the knee you could see a thigh wound under the torn fabric. Cause of the wound: a bayonet, a knife, a dagger? Flies on the wound around it. His head was larger than a watermelon — a black watermelon. I asked his name; he was a Muslim.

"Who is it?"

"A Palestinian," a man about forty answered in French. "See what they've done."

He pulled back the blanket covering the feet and part of the legs. The calves were bare, black and swollen. The feet, in black unlaced army boots, and the ankles of both feet were very tightly bound together by the knot of a strong rope — its strength was obvious — about nine feet long, which I arranged so that Mrs. S. (an American) could get a good picture of it. I asked the man of forty if I could see the face.

"If you want to, but look at it yourself."

"Would you help me to turn his head?"

"No."

"Did they drag him through the streets with this rope?"

"I don't know, sir."

"Who tied him up?"

"I don't know, sir."

"Was it Haddad's men?"

"I don't know."

"The Israelis?"

"I don't know."

"The *Kataeb*?"

"I don't know."

"Did you know him?"

"Yes."

"Did you see him die?"

"Yes."

"Who killed him?"

"I don't know."

He hastily walked away from the dead man and me. From afar he looked back at me and disappeared into a side street.

Which alley should I take now? I was drawn by men fifty years old, by young men of twenty, by two old Arab women, and I felt as if I were the centre of a compass whose quadrants contained hundreds of dead.

I jot this down now, not knowing exactly why at this point in my narrative: "The French have a habit of using the insipid expression 'dirty work.' Well, just like the Israeli army ordered the *Kataeb* or the Haddadists to do their 'dirty work,' the Labour Party had its 'dirty work' done by the Likud, Begin, Sharon, Shamir." I have just quoted R., a Palestinian journalist who was still in Beirut on Sunday, September 19.

In the middle, near them, all these tortured victims, my mind can't get rid of this "invisible vision": what was the torturer like? Who was he? I see him and I don't know him. He's as large as life and the only shape he will ever have is the one formed by the stances, positions, and grotesque gestures of the dead fermenting in the sun under clouds of flies.

"Israel had promised the American representative Habib not to set foot in West Beirut and especially to respect the civilian population of the Palestinian camps. Arafat still has the letter in which Reagan made the same promise. Habib supposedly promised Arafat that nine thousand prisoners in Israel would be freed. On Thursday the massacres in Shatila and Sabra began. The "bloodbath" that Israel claimed it would prevent by restoring order to the camps..." a Lebanese writer told me.

"It will be very easy for Israel to clear itself of all the accusations. Journalists of all the European press are already at work clearing them: no one will say that on the nights from Thursday to Friday and from Friday to Saturday Hebrew was spoken in Shatila." That is what another Lebanese told me.

The Palestinian woman — for I couldn't leave Shatila without going from one corpse to another and this *jeu de l'oie* (game of chance — ed.) would inevitably end up at this miracle: Shatila and Sabra razed to the ground and real estate battles to rebuild on this very flat cemetery — the Palestinian woman was probably elderly because her hair was gray. She was stretched out on her back, laid or left there on the rubble, the bricks, the twisted iron rods, without comfort. At first I was surprised by a strange braid made of rope and cloth which went from one wrist to the other, holding the two arms apart horizontally, as if crucified. Her black and swollen face, turned towards the sky, revealed an open mouth, black with flies, and teeth that seemed very white to me, a face that seemed, without moving a muscle, either to grin or smile or else to cry out in a silent and unbroken scream. Her stockings were black wool, and her pink and gray flowered dress, slightly hiked up or too short, I don't know which, revealed the tops of swollen black calves, again with the delicate mauve tints matched by a similar purple and mauve in the cheeks. Were these bruises or the natural result of rotting in the sun?

"Did they strike her with the butt of the rifle?"

"Look, sir, look at her hands."

I hadn't noticed. The fingers of the two hands were spread out and the ten fingers were cut as if with gardening shears. Soldiers, laughing like kids and gaily singing, had probably had fun discovering and using these shears.

"Look, sir."

The ends of the fingers, the top joints, with the nail, lay in the dust. The young man, who was simply and naturally showing me how the dead had been tortured, calmly put a cloth back over the face and hands of the Palestinian woman, and a piece of corrugated cardboard over her legs. All I could distinguish now was a heap of pink and gray cloth, hovered over by flies.

Three young men led me down an alley.

"Go in, sir, we'll wait for you outside."

The first room was what remained of a two-storey house. The room gave an impression of serenity and even friendliness, of near happiness; perhaps real happiness had been created out of others' throwaways, with what survives from a destroyed piece of wall, with what I first thought were three armchairs, actually three car seats (perhaps a Mercedes from a junkyard), a couch with cushions covered with gaudy flowered material with stylised designs, a small silent radio, two unlit candalabras. A fairly quiet room, in spite of the carpet of spent shells. The door swung, as if there were a draft. I walked on the spent shells and pushed the door, which opened towards the other room, but I had to push hard: the heel of a boot

*continued on page 14*